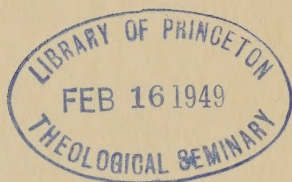

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INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS
of **STUDENT YWCA'S**

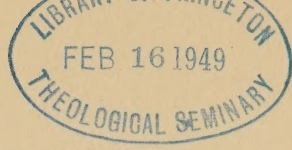
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student YWCA's



INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS
OF STUDENT YWCA'S



*An Inquiry
Under Auspices of
the National Student
Young Women's Christian Association*

YOLANDA B. WILKERSON

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We Believe

"We believe in the dignity and worth of all men because of their common sonship to God. To discriminate against any person because of race, creed or station in life is an affront to God. We believe that the full integration of members of minority groups into community life is a condition of the coming of God's Kingdom on earth. We believe that human life is sacred and that no man is of greater value than any other before God or His government."

(Actions of the National Assembly of the Student Christian Association Movement, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, December 1946.)

THE INTERRACIAL CHARTER of the YWCA's of the U.S.A.

THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS OF the United States since the early days have recognized their role in society as an organization for all women and girls, and particularly for those who by reason of economic, cultural or social environment have not had opportunity to make their full contribution to the common life. To them the Association may potentially be, and often has been, a bulwark against unfavorable circumstance and a channel of creative endeavor.

Today, racial tensions threaten not only the well-being of our communities but also the possibility of a peaceful world. Women of the minority races in America form more than one-tenth of the Association constituency, and have a direct claim to the organization's understanding and support. That this responsibility has been recognized and accepted is clear from the evidence of succeeding convention actions. In 1936, the convention voted that

"Associations should continue to work for the building of a society nearer to the Kingdom of God by attempting to create within the Association a fellowship in which barriers of race, nationality, education and social status are broken down in the pursuit of the common objective of a better life for all."

This fellowship without barriers of race, this better life for all, is an accepted goal which the Young Women's Christian Associations strive to achieve. We shall be ever mindful of the variation in the number and range of difficulties to overcome, as well as of opportunities to progress. Wherever there is injustice on the basis of race, whether in the community, the nation or the world, our protest must be clear and our labor for its removal, vigorous and steady. And what we urge on others we are constrained to practice ourselves. We shall be alert to opportunities for demonstrating the richness of life inherent in an organization unhampered by artificial barriers in which all members have full status and all persons equal honor and respect as the children of one Father.

As members of the YWCA's of the U.S.A., we humbly and resolutely pledge ourselves to continue to pioneer in an interracial experience that shall be increasingly democratic and Christian.

(Adopted unanimously, Seventeenth National Convention of the YWCA's of the U. S. A., Atlantic City, New Jersey, March 5, 1946.)

COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL EDUCATION OF THE
NATIONAL STUDENT YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN
ASSOCIATION—1945-1947

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Miss Dorothy Gray (1946-47)

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FOREWORD

THE PROBLEM OF RACE CONFLICT IS ONE OF THE most fundamental problems confronting American democracy. It is manifested by such practices and customs as job discriminations, lynching, terrorist activities of hate groups like the Columbians, Inc. and Ku Klux Klan, efforts to intimidate and disfranchise Negro voters in the South, police brutality against minority groups in northern cities, the rising wave of anti-Semitism, restrictive covenants and the whole network of prejudices and segregation to which many millions of minority peoples are subjected.

The elimination of these divisive conflicts among the American people is, of course, a necessary goal for those who cherish the Christian faith and ethic. It is no less necessary on practical economic and political grounds; for the advent of Nazism in Europe has taught us how easily racial antagonisms can be turned to the advantage of demagogues who seek to destroy the security and freedom of all people.

It is not without good cause, therefore, that the National Student Young Women's Christian Association, a division of the work of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, is now especially concerned with strengthening and enlarging as never before its long-time program for the promotion of interracial brotherhood. The statement of interracial policy

quoted in part on page iii (under the caption "We Believe. . . ."), resulting from years of thought, discussion and experience as Christians in this area, provides the present charter for the entire Movement.¹

This inquiry into the interracial programs of student Christian Associations represents one in a whole series of steps being taken by the National Student YWCA to enhance the effectiveness of its work in the interracial field. It parallels in general purpose the recent study of *Interracial Practices in Community YWCA's*² conducted by Juliet O. Bell and Helen J. Wilkins; although it differs greatly from that study in the nature and treatment of its data.

The present study was conducted by the Secretary for Interracial Education under the guidance of the Committee for Interracial Education of the National Student YWCA. The costs of the investigation were largely defrayed by a grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

Invaluable suggestions in the conduct of the study were received from Dr. Charles S. Johnson, now president of Fisk University; Dr. Helen M. Walker, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University; and Miss Myra A. Smith, head of the Department of Data and Trends and of Program Subjects of the National Board, Young Women's Christian Association.

Acknowledgment is also made of the helpful cooperation of hundreds of student and community YWCA members, executives and advisers who supplied the basic data of the investigation.

¹ See full text of the statement of policy on "Racial Equality" in Chapter IX.

² The Woman's Press, 1944. Out of print.

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PURPOSE AND SCOPE

DESPITE THE GENUINE AND LONG-SUSTAINED INTEREST and activities of the National Student Young Women's Christian Association in the field of race relations, there has never been a comprehensive and systematic evaluative investigation of the nature and extent of interracial problems on college campuses and of the program activities of student YWCA's in relation to those problems. To describe and appraise such problems and programs is the general purpose of this inquiry.

In these times, when the cult of racism provides a much too convenient weapon for the enemies of democracy in their attacks upon the freedom and security of all peoples, it is of transcendent importance that organized programs designed to foster interracial brotherhood and good will be developed to their maximum degrees of efficiency. This requires that stock be taken of what is, or is not, being done to combat racial prejudices and discriminations, of the extent to which existing programs are vital or superficial, of the emphases and lines of development along which such programs need further development and redirection. This inquiry seeks to provide just such a stock taking for the interracial programs of the student Christian Associations which comprise the National Student YWCA.

Thus, the dominant emphasis of this study is *evalua-*

tion. Its primary concern is to appraise the extent and effectiveness of interracial program activities carried on by campus YWCA's. All quantitative data and descriptive analyses are directed toward this controlling end.

» *QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED*

Specifically, an effort is here made to answer the following general questions regarding interracial problems and programs on college campuses which have organized student Christian Associations¹:

1. What is an effective interracial program?
2. What are the extent and nature of the interracial problems on college campuses and in neighboring communities?
3. What are the extent and nature of the interracial program activities of student Christian Associations?
4. What are the main successes and failures of the interracial programs of student Christian Associations?
5. What are the postgraduate evaluations and interracial experiences of former student Christian Association members?
6. To what extent do programs in student Christian Associations satisfy the criteria for an "effective interracial program"?
7. In what areas is there need for further development and redirection of the interracial programs of student Christian Associations?

For purposes of this inquiry the term "interracial problems" is restricted to those special problems of

¹ For purposes of this study, the terms "student YWCA", "campus YWCA" and "student Christian Association" are used interchangeably to designate the entire group of participating Associations.

PURPOSE AND SCOPE

prejudice and discrimination which are faced by Negroes, Jews and Americans of Japanese descent in their associations on college campuses and in neighboring communities.² The term "minority students" is used to designate these three groups.

» TYPES AND EXTENT OF DATA

The data of this inquiry are of five types:

1. The composite judgments of seven members of the National Student YWCA Committee on Interracial Education concerning the relative importance of selected "criteria for judging an effective interracial program".
2. The responses of student Christian Associations to a seven-page inquiry form calling for a wide range of information about minority student enrollments and problems, together with the extent and nature of Association interracial program activities during 1945-46. (See Appendix A-1 to 4.)
3. The responses of former student Christian Association members (alumnae of the classes of 1931 to 1945 reported by Associations as having been "active" in the general program or in the interracial program) to a three-page questionnaire calling for information concerning their postgraduate interests and activities in the interracial field, together with their evaluations

² Jews, of course, do not constitute a "race"; and justifiable objection could be made to the designation of Negroes and Japanese-Americans as "races". For convenience, however, this study follows the popular (even though inexact) usage of referring to the special problems of these three groups as "interracial problems", and to programs designed to alleviate discriminations against these groups as "interracial programs".

INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS OF STUDENT YWCA'S

of the interracial programs of their former student Christian Associations. (See Appendix B-1 to 4.)

4. Miscellaneous reports and records from the files of the National Student YWCA.
5. Observations and records of the investigator, the Secretary of Interracial Education, National Student YWCA, during five years of travel visiting student Christian Associations in most parts of the country.

The questionnaire data concerning campus interracial problems and student Christian Association interracial programs are based upon responses from 222 colleges and universities in different geographical regions, representing about 37 per cent of the total number of student Christian Associations.³ The questionnaire data concerning the postgraduate interracial experiences and evaluations of former student Christian Association members are based upon responses from 93 alumni from different regions and of different graduating classes between 1931 and 1945. They represent approximately 31 per cent of those to whom questionnaires were sent.

It is apparent that the questionnaire data gathered for this inquiry are considerably limited in scope. They are, however, fairly representative, as is hereinafter shown. Supplemented as they are by other records and by considerable personal observations and interviews of the investigator, they provide a reasonably substantial and reliable basis for this initial effort systematically to evaluate the interracial programs of the student Christian Associations which comprise the National Student YWCA.

³ Those responses include 28 from student Christian Associations (joint YMCA-YWCA groups), the remainder coming from YWCA's.

» TABLE 1 «

Number and Percentage of Questionnaires Mailed Out and Returned, by Regions

REGION	NUMBER OF STATES		NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS		PER CENT RETURNING QUESTIONNAIRE	ADDED NO. OF "NO PROBLEM" LETTERS OR BLANK QUESTIONNAIRE REPLIES
	In Region	Sending Replies	Sent Questionnaire	Returning Questionnaire		
<i>Northeast:</i>						
New England.....	6	4	38	8	21%	1
New York.....	1	1	28	3	11%	2
Middle Atlantic.....	6	5	74	19	26%	7
Total.....	13	10	140	30	21%	10
<i>Middle West:</i>						
Geneva.....	9	9	119	56	47%	18
<i>West:</i>						
Rocky Mountain..	6	3	50	16	32%	7
Seaboard.....	4	3	16	5	31%	1
Asilomar.....	2	2	38	14	37%	2
Total.....	12	8	104	35	34%	10
<i>South:</i>						
Southeast.....	10	9	167	30	18%	17
Southwest.....	4	4	74	12	16%	4
Total.....	14	13	241	42	17%	21
Grand Total.....	48	40	604	163	27%*	59*

* Including both the 163 returned questionnaires and the 59 "No Problem" letter replies, there was a 37 per cent response to the inquiry form mailed out. (See Appendix D for list of institutions from which questionnaire returns were received.)

» INSTITUTIONS REPORTING

As was noted above, the main questionnaire by which the data of this inquiry were obtained brought responses from 222 student Christian Associations, representing about 37 per cent of the total. The geographical distribution of these Associations is shown in Table 1. (Appendix D lists all participating institutions.)

It will be seen from the table that 59 Associations returned questionnaires or sent letters reporting that they had "no problem" of minority group discrimination; whereas 163 Associations in 40 states (27 per cent of the total) supplied all or most of the information requested. The latter include 56 Associations (34 per cent) located in the Middle West (Geneva Region); 42 (26 per cent) in the two southern regions (Southwest and Southeast); 35 (22 per cent) in the three western regions (Rocky Mountain, Seabeck and Asilomar); and 30 (18 per cent) in the three northeastern regions (New England, New York and Middle Atlantic). Some 47 per cent of the 119 Associations in the Middle West filled out and returned the inquiry forms, as compared with 34 per cent of the 104 Associations in the West, 21 per cent of the 140 Associations in the Northeast, and 17 per cent of the 241 Associations in the South.

Two-thirds of the 59 "no problem" responses came from Associations in the Middle West and South, representing 15 per cent and 9 per cent, respectively, of all Associations in the three administrative regions there involved. The "no problem" responses received from the Northeast and West represented, respectively, 7 per cent and 10 per cent of all the Associations in the six administrative regions there involved.

It is notable, and probably very significant, that

PURPOSE AND SCOPE

student Christian Associations served by full-time YWCA secretaries cooperated much more fully with this inquiry than did Associations without such employed staff. As may be seen from Table 2, nearly one-half (47 per cent) of the Associations with secretaries supplied the questionnaire data requested, as compared with less than one-fourth (23 per cent) of the Associations without secretaries. "No problem" responses were received from only one per cent of the Associations with YWCA secretaries, as compared with 11 per cent of the Associations without secretaries.

Prejudices and discriminations against minority groups are so thoroughly integrated into American culture that there are probably very few, if any, colleges or universities where they do not in some degree exist, even though there may be no minority students enrolled at the institution. Thus, an Association which reports "no problem" in this regard is likely to be giving tacit admission that it does not recognize a problem which is actually there. The fact that very few Associations with YWCA secretaries make such "no problem" reports may reflect the greater sensitivity of student Associations to interracial problems where they have the advantage of professional adult leadership.

The proportions of Associations sending in full-information responses (see Table 2) range from 11 per cent, in the New York region, to 47 per cent, in the Geneva region; all of the nine YWCA administrative regions are represented; and information was obtained from 30 or more Associations in each of the four larger geographical areas. Moreover, as is noted subsequently, the institutions that responded vary widely in size, from a little over 100 students to more than 14,000. Nearly one-half are public colleges and universities;

and almost one-half of the remaining private institutions are under nonsectarian control.

Included among the 163 institutions for which student Associations report data are seven colleges which enroll Negro students only—two in the Northeast and five in the South. It is clear that the interracial problems and programs of these institutions are, necessarily, of an entirely different character from those of the remaining 156 institutions, where minority students constitute a very small percentage of the total enrollment. Recognizing this fact, the few Associations in Negro schools which replied left most of the inquiry form blank, some noting thereon or sending letters to the effect that the questions asked “do not apply”. In view of this consideration, the seven Negro institutions from which responses were received are not included in the analyses here made. Rather, those analyses are based, for the most part, upon responses from Associations in those 156 participating institutions which are not all-Negro in their student personnel—28 in the Northeast, 56 in the Middle West, 35 in the West, and 37 in the South.

Thus, the institutions involved in this inquiry vary widely in character and in geographical distribution; and—in the judgment of the investigator, who has worked with them, directly and indirectly, over a period of five years—they are fairly representative in other respects. They constitute a sample which may justly be assumed to provide a reliable insight into the problems and practices of the more than 600 colleges and universities where student Christian Associations are located.

» *YWCA REPRESENTATIVES REPORTING*

The main questionnaire used to gather data for this inquiry (see Appendix A) was filled out by a wide

» TABLE 2 «

*Number and Percentage of Institutions, With and Without
Y Secretaries, Returning Questionnaire, by Regions*

ITEM	NORTH- EAST	MIDDLE WEST	WEST	SOUTH	TOTAL
<i>Number Sent Questionnaire:</i>					
With Secretaries.....	15	24	24	26	89
Without Secretaries....	125	95	80	215	515
<i>Number Returning Questionnaire:</i>					
With Secretaries.....	6	15	11	11	43
Without Secretaries....	24	41	24	31	120
<i>Per Cent Returning Questionnaire:</i>					
With Secretaries.....	40%	63%	46%	42%	47%
Without Secretaries....	19%	43%	30%	14%	23%
<i>Number Sending "No Problem" Letter Replies:</i>					
With Secretary.....	1	0	0	0	1
Without Secretary.....	9	18	10	21	58
<i>Per Cent Sending "No Problem" Letter Replies:</i>					
With Secretary.....	7%	0	0	0	1%
Without Secretary.....	7%	19%	13%	10%	11%

range of student Association representatives, both individuals and committees. There follows a complete tabulation of the YWCA leaders and groups replying to the questionnaire in the 156 institutions used for the basic analyses of this study. Frequencies are noted for the four geographical regions.

It will be noted that 61 (39 per cent) of the questionnaires returned by participating Associations were filled out by student YWCA presidents or secretaries. Only eight (5 per cent) were filled out by executive secretaries or other adult officials. The remaining 87 ques-

LEADERS AND GROUPS REPLYING TO QUESTIONNAIRE	REGION				
	North- east	Middle West	West	South	Total
A. INDIVIDUAL LEADERS:					
President of YWCA...	9	21	14	12	56
Executive secretary (staff).....	—	1	2	3	6
Secretary of YWCA...	—	2	2	1	5
District representative..	—	—	1	—	1
Adviser.....	—	—	1	—	1
Total.....	9	24	20	16	69
B. COMMITTEES AND COM- MITTEE CHAIRMEN:					
Interracial Committee.	4	5	3	4	16
YWCA president and adviser.....	1	7	3	2	13
Chairman, Interracial Committee.....	2	3	3	2	10
Cabinet or Cabinet Committee.....	3	3	2	1	9
Executive secretary and several students.	2	3	1	2	8
Executive secretary, adviser and several students.....	1	5	—	1	7
Special committee of students.....	3	2	—	1	6
Officers of the YWCA	1	2	1	2	6
YWCA president, ex- ecutive secretary and adviser.....	—	2	1	2	5
Chairman, Religious Committee.....	2	—	—	—	2
Chairman, Christian Faith Committee...	—	—	—	1	1
Chairman, World Stu- dent Service Fund..	—	—	1	—	1
Chairman, Community Service Committee..	—	—	—	1	1
Chairman, World Fel- lowship Committee..	—	—	—	1	1
Worship Committee...	—	—	—	1	1
Total.....	19	32	15	21	87
Grand Total.	28	56	35	37	156

PURPOSE AND SCOPE

tionnaires (56 per cent of the total) were filled out by committees of varying composition, together with committee chairmen.

Nearly three-fourths (74 per cent) of the returned questionnaires were signed by YWCA student officials and members *alone*—including presidents, secretaries, “officers”, cabinet members, members of the Interracial Committee, and chairmen of several student committees. Thirty-three (21 per cent) were signed by student officers *and* adult leaders or advisers.

Thus, it appears that the basic data of this inquiry were supplied chiefly by student members and officers of the YWCA. In only about one-fourth of the cases are executive secretaries and other adult leaders reported as having participated in supplying the information requested. It is highly probable, however, that adult leaders were consulted much more frequently than is indicated by their signatures on the returned questionnaires.

EVALUATIVE CRITERIA

WHAT IS AN EFFECTIVE INTERRACIAL PROGRAM FOR a student Christian Association? By what criteria shall campus Association programs in the interracial field be judged?

As a preliminary basis for answering these questions, the investigator phrased nine tentative criteria which grew out of her own experience with campus Association interracial programs. She then asked the members of the student YWCA Interracial Education Committee to make whatever revisions and additions they considered warranted, and to rate the several tentative criteria as "Very Important," "Important," or "Not Important." (See Appendix C-1 and 2.)

Seven of the ten members of the Committee submitted their individual ratings, all expressing judgments on five of the tentative criteria and one or more failing to rate the other four. Table 3 summarizes the ratings given by this panel of judges, noting the composite (or average weighted) rating of each tentative criterion.

In the opinion of the judges here consulted, all competent and experienced workers in this field, an effective student Christian Association interracial program must, in the first place, (1) tackle *concrete problems* leading to definite action on the campus; (2) provide for the *continuous education* of Association members

and other persons on the campus; and (3) get definite results.

» TABLE 3 «
*Composite Ratings of Tentative Criteria
 for Evaluating Campus Association
 Interracial Programs**

CRITERIA	NUMBER OF JUDGES RATING AS:			COMPOSITE RATING (AVERAGE SCORE)
	Very Important (Score: 10)	Important (Score: 5)	Not Important (Score: 0)	
1. Tackles concrete problems leading to definite action on campus.....	7	—	—	10.0
2. Continuous program of education for Association and campus.....	6	1	—	9.3
3. Gets results.....	4	1	—	9.0
4. Based on preliminary analysis of problems...	6	—	1	8.6
5. Organized around clearly defined objectives.....	5	2	—	8.6
6. Has carry-over influence in after-campus years..	5	2	—	8.6
7. Involves large numbers in Association and on campus.....	3	2	1	6.7
8. Tackles concrete problems leading to definite action in community..	2	4	—	6.7
9. Impresses competent observers as vital and important.....	2	3	1	5.8

* Based upon the individual judgments of seven members of the National Student YWCA Committee on Interracial Education. (Three did not present their judgments.)

Next in importance, an effective program should (4) emerge from a *preliminary analysis* of interracial prob-

lems; (5) be based on *clearly defined objectives*; and (6) exert *carry-over influence* upon participants in the years after graduation.

The third-ranking group of criteria, all with composite ratings somewhat above "Important," includes (7) involvement of large numbers of Association and other campus persons in the interracial program; (8) tackling of concrete problems in the community; and (9) impressing competent observers with the vitality and importance of the program.

Thus, for purposes of this inquiry, an *effective* student YWCA interracial program is defined as one which satisfied the nine evaluative criteria listed in Table 1, and especially the first six of those criteria.

We turn now to an examination of the extent and nature of campus interracial problems and of student Christian Association interracial programs. After these problems and programs have been described and analyzed they will be appraised in terms of the evaluative criteria here defined.

THE EXTENT AND NATURE OF INTERRACIAL PROBLEMS

HOW GENERALLY AND IN WHAT RELATIVE NUMBERS are Negro, Jewish and Japanese-American students represented in the enrollments of colleges and universities with student Christian Associations? What, if any, special problems of discrimination do they face on the campus, or in the neighboring community? What differences are there among the three minority groups in the extent and nature of these problems? Is there any substantial trend toward the elimination of minority group discriminations at these institutions?

These are the questions which this chapter seeks to answer. In brief, an effort is here made to define the extent and nature of the interracial problems with which student Christian Associations might appropriately deal on their own campuses and in the neighboring communities.

» *MINORITY STUDENT ENROLLMENTS*

Nearly three-fourths (72 per cent) of the 156 colleges and universities involved in this analysis report Jewish students in their enrollments; and almost one-half report Japanese-Americans (47 per cent) and Negroes (49 per cent). As is shown by Table 4, some minority group enrollments are reported by 144 of these institutions, fully 92 per cent of the total.

Also evident from Table 4 are significant regional

» TABLE 4 «

*Number of Institutions Reporting Minority Group Enrollments,
by Type of Institution and by Regions**

REGION AND TYPE OF INSTITUTION	NUMBER REPORTING "MINORITY" ENROLLMENTS			
	Jews	Jap.-Amer.	Negroes	Total †
<i>Northeast:</i>				
Public.....	10	2	8	10
Private—Sectarian.....	7	0	1	7
Private—Nonsectarian.....	11	7	5	11
	—	—	—	—
Total.....	28	9	14	28
<i>Middle West:</i>				
Public.....	21	12	20	21
Private—Sectarian.....	11	14	14	22
Private—Nonsectarian.....	8	6	6	10
	—	—	—	—
Total.....	40	32	40	53
<i>West:</i>				
Public.....	13	12	16	21
Private—Sectarian.....	3	5	4	7
Private—Nonsectarian.....	4	4	3	4
	—	—	—	—
Total.....	20	21	23	32
<i>South:</i>				
Public.....	10	5	0	13
Private—Sectarian.....	5	5	0	8
Private—Nonsectarian.....	9	1	0	10
	—	—	—	—
Total.....	24	11	0	31
<i>All Regions:</i>				
Public.....	54	31	44	65
Private—Sectarian.....	26	24	19	44
Private—Nonsectarian.....	32	18	14	35
	—	—	—	—
Total.....	112	73	77	144
Per Cent of all 156 Institutions Reporting "Minority" En- rollments.....	72	47	49	92

* Based on a total of 156 institutions, not including seven Negro colleges.

† Total number of *different* institutions reporting enrollments of one or more "minority groups".

differences in the incidence of enrollments for the several minority groups. Sixty-one per cent of the institutions reporting Jewish students are in the Middle West (40 institutions) and Northeast (28 institutions); 73 per cent of those reporting Japanese-American students are in the Middle West (32 institutions) and West (21 institutions); and 82 per cent of those reporting Negro students are in the Middle West (40 institutions) and West (23 institutions). The colleges and universities in the Geneva Region (Middle West) more frequently report enrollments of each of the three minority groups than do the institutions of any other geographical area.

Japanese-American and Negro students are enrolled in relatively few of the institutions in the Northeast; Jews in few of those in the West, and Jews and Japanese-Americans in few of those in the South. None of the southern institutions enrolls Negroes.

Proportionately more public institutions report Negro enrollments than do denominational or private nonsectarian schools. Table 5 shows that, whereas public institutions constitute 49 per cent of all colleges and universities with student Christian Associations (excluding Negro schools), they constitute 57 per cent of the institutions reporting Negro enrollments. On the other hand, private-sectarian schools constitute 29 per cent of all Association schools, but only 25 per cent of those reporting Negro students. Similarly, private-nonsectarian schools, representing 22 per cent of the total, constitute only 18 per cent of the institutions reporting the enrollment of Negroes.

Table 5 also reveals that Jewish students are reported by a proportionately small number of denominational schools (which is easily understandable); by a proportionately large number of private nonsectarian schools;

» TABLE 5 «

*Percentage Distribution of Institutions Reporting Minority Enrollments, According to Public or Private Control**

TYPE OF INSTITUTION	PER CENT OF ALL ASSOCIATION INSTITUTIONS† (No. 526)	PER CENT OF INSTITUTIONS REPORTING MINORITY ENROLLMENTS‡			
		Jews (No. 112)	Japanese-Americans (No. 73)	Negroes (No. 77)	Total (No. 144)
Public.....	49	48	42	57	45
Private—Sectarian	29	23	33	25	31
Private—Nonsectarian.....	22	29	25	18	24
Total.....	100	100	100	100	100

* Type of control ascertained by reference to *Educational Directory*, Part III. Colleges and Universities, U.S. Office of Education.

† Not including 78 all-Negro institutions with student Associations.

‡ Percentages are derived from the data of Table 4.

and by a proportionate number of public schools. Japanese-American students are reported by a proportionately small number of public institutions, but by proportionately large numbers of private-sectarian and private-nonsectarian institutions.

Although the incidence of enrollments for the three minority groups appears to vary significantly among public, denominational and private-nonsectarian institutions, most of the differences are not marked. The chief difference is the proportionately larger number of public institutions reporting Negro students. The most significant fact shown by Table 5 is that all three minority groups are found pretty well distributed among all three types of institutions.

It may be seen from Table 6 that those institutions with total enrollments which exceed 2,500, constitute

» TABLE 6 «

*Number of Institutions with Minority Group Enrollments,
by Size of Total Enrollments*

SIZE OF ENROLLMENTS	TOTAL NO. OF INSTITUTIONS	INSTITUTIONS REPORTING		
		Jews	Jap.-Amer.	Negroes
Over 7,000.....	8	8	7	6
2,501 to 7,000.....	22	21	13	16
501 to 2,500.....	52	45	27	30
500 and below.....	74	38	26	25
Total.....	156	112	73	77

only about 26 per cent (29 out of 112) of those reporting Jews, 27 per cent (20 out of 73) of those reporting Japanese-Americans, and 29 per cent (22 out of 77) of those reporting Negroes.

The numbers of minority students enrolled in individual institutions are small, especially in the case of Japanese-Americans and Negroes. Table 7 shows that 53 (76 per cent) of the 70 schools reporting Japanese-Americans and 37 (56 per cent) of the 66 schools reporting Negroes enroll five or fewer such students, respectively. Only one institution reports more than 100 Japanese-American students, and only seven institutions report more than 100 Negro students. No institution reports more than 200 Japanese-Americans or Negroes.

On the other hand, the size of Jewish student enrollments in these institutions tends to be larger than is true of the other two minority groups. More than one-half of the 104 schools reporting Jews enroll more than

» TABLE 7 «

*Number of Institutions Reporting Minority Student Enrollments
of Varying Sizes**

SIZE OF MINORITY ENROLLMENTS	NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS REPORTING:		
	Jews	Jap.-Amer.	Negroes
Over 1,000.....	4	—	—
501 to 1,000.....	5	—	—
201 to 500.....	3	—	—
101 to 200.....	5	1	7
51 to 100.....	10	2	2
26 to 50.....	8	1	8
11 to 25.....	21	8	7
6 to 10.....	13	5	5
1 to 5.....	35	53	37
Total.....	104 (100%)	70 (100%)	66 (100%)

* A number of institutions which reported minority students did not report the number of such students enrolled; hence the difference between the totals of this table and those of Table 4.

10 such students each; 17 enroll more than 100 each; and nine enroll from 500 to more than 1,000 each.

Thus, to summarize, one or more of the minority groups with which this study deals are present on the campuses of most of the institutions here involved—Jews in nearly two-thirds of the schools, and Japanese-Americans and Negroes in about one-half of the schools. All three minority groups are enrolled by institutions in all geographical regions, with one significant exception—there are no Negroes in the southern institutions. Moreover, the three minority groups are fairly well distributed among private and public schools. Most of these schools are medium-sized or small institutions,

enrolling very small numbers of Negro and Japanese-American students, but somewhat larger numbers of Jewish students.

It is evident, therefore, that those minority groups against whom social, economic and political discriminations are most prevalent in American life generally are to be found, in varying numbers, on most of the campuses where student Christian Associations are functioning. Our next concern is the extent to which they are confronted with special problems of racial discriminations on those campuses.

» PROBLEMS IN PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

One frequently hears reports that Negro, Jewish or other minority group students are barred from entering certain professional schools, or are admitted only under a frank or concealed "quota system". It was the revelation of such discriminatory practices in many universities in the State of New York, for example, that led to a broad but unsuccessful movement for passage of the Austin-Mahoney Bill during 1946-47.¹ Similar problems and similar efforts at corrective legislation have been noted in other states.

In an effort to learn how generally, if at all, the institutions involved in this study tend to discriminate against minority students seeking to enter their professional schools, student Associations were asked to check (or list) professional schools in which Jewish, Japanese-American or Negro students "have difficulty taking work," and to "state the reason for the difficulty". Responses to the question were few (59 of the 156 schools made no reply), and those received were in many cases

¹ *A Bill at Albany*, New York State Committee Against Discrimination, 212 West 50th Street, New York, N. Y. (Pamphlet.)

incomplete or vague. This may result, in part, from the fact that respondents to the inquiry form here used are chiefly undergraduate students, who probably are not fully informed about practices in professional schools.

Of the 97 schools answering the question, 43 reported they had no professional schools. The remaining 54 institutions reported that minority students have "difficulty taking work" in:

- 5 out of 15 schools for medical internship
- 4 out of 21 general medical schools
- 2 out of 22 engineering schools
- 2 out of 3 nursing schools
- 1 out of 22 law schools
- 1 out of 15 dentistry schools
- 1 out of 16 pharmacy schools
- 1 out of 17 journalism schools
- 1 out of 7 home economics schools
- 1 out of 2 industrial arts schools
- 1 out of 8 education schools
- 1 out of 4 business schools
- 1 out of 4 veterinary medicine schools
- 1 out of 4 physical education schools

Most of the southern institutions reporting on this point, 23 in all, ignored the issue of Negro enrollments in professional schools, since, as some of them pointed out, state laws bar Negroes from attending the institutions at all.

The following typical "explanations" and comments from selected institutions in the several geographical areas provide further insight into the problems of minority students in those professional schools where discrimination is reported:

Northeast:

"Admitted under quota. It is the general rule."¹ (Re: law, engineering, medicine, dentistry and pharmacy)

"Two Negroes enrolled each year." (Re: physical education)

Middle West:

"Industries won't hire Negroes in the type of work." (Re: engineering and business administration)

"Hospitals won't accept Negroes." (Re: internship)

"Even though there is no official policy, Negro students are discouraged from entering Medicine and Nursing. There have been graduates from both schools, however."

Barriers "against Negro because no place for him to room in town." (Re: industrial arts)

"By policy there is no discrimination because of race. . . . In the few cases where members of minority groups seek to prepare for teaching they are discouraged because of the difficulty of finding employment on termination of the course."

"Negro students are unable to practice-teach . . . due to policy of administrative council."

West:

"Work on patients might cause trouble." (Re: medical internship)

"Subtle ill-will." (Re: teachers college)

"Negroes are not allowed to live in the dormitory for a semester, which is required in course called

¹ The so-called "quota system" of admitting minority students to professional schools probably finds expression also on the undergraduate level. No data on this point were collected by the present study.

Organizations Administration. Negroes are not allowed to stay in Home Management House, which is required in Home Economics. Negro dietetics students have difficulty in locating hospitals for their internship following graduation."

South:

"No Negroes are admitted to the University at all."

"All races accepted 100 per cent except Negroes."

"We think there is discrimination against Jewish students. Sort of understood quota."

These are highly fragmentary data; and they provide no definitive or precise measure of the nature or extent of professional school discriminations against the minority students with which this inquiry deals. It is clear, however, that such discriminations do, indeed, exist among the institutions here surveyed; and, further, that the existence of these discriminations is known to many of the student Christian Associations participating in this inquiry.

» MISCELLANEOUS CAMPUS PROBLEMS

Much more general than racial discriminations in professional schools, which many of the institutions here surveyed do not include, are discriminations against minority students in miscellaneous activities on the campus. To the end of obtaining information in this regard, cooperating student Christian Associations were asked to check a list of selected campus facilities and activities, indicating in each case whether there is "no discrimination", "some discrimination" or "complete barriers" against the several minority student groups involved in this study. Table 8 summarizes their responses.

The number of institutions reporting on the several

campus facilities and activities listed in Table 8 ranges from 68 to 118, probably reflecting differences among these schools in the existence of certain of the facilities and activities involved.

Few schools report discriminations against minority students in the areas of campus life here surveyed, the highest frequency being ten for any of the ten activities or for any one of the three minority groups. The overwhelming majority of the institutions reported "no discrimination whatsoever".

"Some discrimination" against Japanese-American and Negro students is reported most frequently in connection with "general school social affairs", where Jewish students also face some discrimination, but far less frequently. In no case is it reported that minority groups are completely barred from such activities.

"Living in the girls' dormitory" presents difficulties for all three minority groups, "some discrimination" against Jews being reported by five institutions, and against Japanese-Americans and Negroes by four institutions, respectively. Japanese-Americans are barred completely from the girls' dormitories in one institution, and Negroes in two institutions.

Nine institutions report that Negroes are barred completely from "living in boys' dormitories", and one reports similar barriers against Japanese-Americans. "Some discrimination" in this respect is reported against Jews in three institutions, against Japanese-Americans in three institutions, and against Negroes in one institution.

Negro students, more than either of the other groups, frequently encounter discrimination when it comes to "participation in athletics". They are barred completely at eight institutions; and they face "some discrimination" in four other schools. Two institutions bar Jap-

» TABLE 8 «

Number of Institutions Reporting "No", "Some", or "Complete" Discrimination Against Minority Students in the Use of Selected Facilities or Participation in Selected Activities

CAMPUS FACILITY OR ACTIVITY	TOTAL NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS REPORTING	NUMBER REPORTING								
		No Discriminations Against			Some Discriminations Against			Complete Barriers Against		
		Jews	Jap.-Am.	Negroes	Jews	Jap.-Am.	Negroes	Jews	Jap.-Am.	Negroes
a. Living in girls' dormitory.	106	89	66	28	5	4	4	—	1	2
b. Living in boys' dormitory.	74	52	45	30	3	3	1	—	1	9
c. Participation in athletics.	115	93	76	57	1	1	4	1	2	8
d. Use of boys' swimming pool.	68	58	49	34	1	—	—	—	—	2
e. Use of girls' swimming pool.	84	79	56	38	—	—	—	—	—	2
f. Eating in campus cafeteria	110	92	74	60	1	—	1	—	—	1
g. Participation in band or orchestra.	102	91	70	57	—	1	1	—	—	—
h. Participation in chorus or glee club.	110	100	74	61	—	1	1	—	—	1
i. Use of Student Union Building.	89	75	61	49	—	1	—	—	—	1
j. Participation in general school social affairs.	118	98	74	55	2	8	10	—	—	—

anese-Americans and one bars Jews from participation in athletics.

Negro students are also barred from boys' swimming pools in two institutions, from girls' swimming pools in two institutions and, in one institution each, from eating in the campus cafeteria, from singing in chorus or glee club, and from use of the Student Union building. Although Jewish and Japanese-American students face "some discrimination" in these activities at a few institutions, in no case are they completely barred from participation.

In addition to the ten campus activities included on the inquiry forms (and listed in Table 8), a few others involving discrimination against minority students were reported by cooperating institutions. Most frequently added is "sorority and fraternity membership", incident to which "some" discrimination is faced by Jews in nine institutions, by Japanese-Americans in four institutions and by Negroes in two institutions. Each of the three minority groups is reported as being barred completely from sorority and fraternity membership at two institutions, respectively.

Tabulations (not here presented) of regional differences in the incidence of campus discriminations reveal no significant and consistent variations, other than somewhat larger frequencies in areas where minority student enrollments are more frequent. It is important to note, however, that at least a few institutions in each geographical area reported "some discrimination" or "complete barriers" against each of the minority groups here involved.

» PROBLEMS IN THE COMMUNITY

Campus discriminations against minority students have their counterparts in the neighboring communities,

and apparently are much more common in the college towns and cities than at the institutions themselves.

From 75 to 124 cooperating Associations reported on the incidence and intensity of minority group discriminations in relation to each of five selected community activities listed on the inquiry form. Their responses are summarized in Table 9.

In the communities, as on the campuses, the predominating pattern reported is that of "no discrimination" against Jewish or Japanese-American students. Community discriminations against Negroes, however, are far more frequent, and on certain activities such discriminations are the predominating practice.

Thirty-three institutions report that Negro students face "some discrimination" when they go to eat in community restaurants; and 28 say Negroes are barred completely from restaurants in the community. Only 24 schools report "no discrimination" against Negroes in this regard. Although less frequently, both Japanese-Americans and Jews face similar difficulties in some communities.

Negro students are reported as being barred completely from renting dance halls in 23 communities, and as facing "some discrimination" in this regard in eight communities. Only 19 Associations report "no discrimination" against Negroes in this respect. Japanese-Americans and Jews also face some discrimination in the renting of dance halls, although less frequently than Negroes; and both groups are barred from dance halls completely in two communities, respectively.

"Some discrimination" is faced by Negro students in attending movies or theaters in 16 communities, and in attending church in 20 communities; and they are completely barred from movies in nine communities, and from churches in five communities. Here, again, there

» TABLE 9 «
*Number of Institutions Reporting "No", "Some" or "Complete" Discrimination
 Against Minority Students in Selected Community Activities*

COMMUNITY ACTIVITY	TOTAL NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS REPORTING	NUMBER REPORTING							
		No Discriminations Against			Some Discriminations Against			Complete Barriers Against	
		Jews	Jap.-Am.	Negroes	Jews	Jap.-Am.	Negroes	Jews	Jap.-Am. Negroes
a. Attending movies or theater.....	124	102	84	57	—	—	16	2	— 9
b. Attending churches.....	114	91	78	48	2	3	20	1	— 5
c. Use of YMCA or YWCA.	105	84	74	49	1	—	8	3	— 9
d. Eating in restaurants.....	124	99	74	24	—	7	33	3	2 28
e. Renting of dance halls....	75	59	37	19	1	4	8	2	2 23

exist similar discriminations against Japanese-Americans and Jews, but far less frequently.

Occasional minority group discriminations were also reported by some Associations in other areas of community life, especially in connection with barber shops, hotels and housing accommodations. All three minority groups are to some extent affected, although discriminations against Negroes are more frequent than discriminations against Jews and Japanese-Americans.

» *VARIATIONS AMONG MINORITY GROUPS*

It is clear from the preceding analyses that the problems of discrimination faced by Negroes on the campuses and in the communities here surveyed differ in incidence and in intensity from those faced by the other two minority groups involved in this inquiry. Further insight into these differences is afforded by the responses of cooperating student Associations to the request: "Please comment on any other matters which may help to interpret the position of Negro students at the institution"; and also to the question: "In what ways do discriminations against Negro students differ from discriminations against Japanese-American and Jewish students?"

In the South, of course, intergroup differences are most marked; Negroes are barred completely from institutions which Jews and Japanese-Americans are allowed to attend. Typical comments on this point by Associations in southern schools follow:

"Discrimination against Japanese-American and Jewish students is not prevalent on our campus; but Negroes are barred completely."

"Jewish students are really not much discriminated against on our campus. However, prejudices do exist among many students. With the Negro, discrimination is terrible. Negroes [presumably nonstudents] must stay by themselves

and 'in their place'. Jewish students must room together in the dormitories. No Jewish student can room with a Gentile."

"We have no Negro students on our campus, and several attempts by different religious organizations to bring them here [probably as visitors or to conferences] have been refused by the Administration."

Northern institutions generally report sharper and more "crystallized" discrimination against Negro students. These comments are typical:

"It is harder for the Negro at every turn . . . discriminations against Jews, Catholics and Japanese-Americans are not always noticeable—perhaps because they are more subtle."

"It is not so intense for Jewish and Japanese-American."

"Small number of Japanese-American students and no families in town. No crystallized discrimination against them."

"The manner of discrimination does not differ, but there seems to be more prejudice against Negroes than Japanese-Americans or Jews."

The sharper discrimination against Negroes, and to a lesser extent against Japanese-Americans, is reported by many institutions to be especially marked in housing, barber shops, restaurants, and the closer personal and social relationships. Illustrative in this regard are the following comments:

"Negro students have a legal right to live in the dormitories, but the policy of the Administrative Council is to discourage them from exercising this right."

"No housing accommodation open to Negro students (except YWCA). Barber shop and restaurant discrimination."

"Negro students must room with private families in the town and have a long distance to come to the campus from other side of town. The college provides no housing facilities for Negroes on or near the campus."

"Some of the faculty have said that there is a state law of some kind which keeps Negroes from eating in the dining

hall. Last year it was voted that the Negroes could eat in the kitchen."¹

"Negro students have never lived in the Home Management House. For approximately two years no Negro student has been eligible. Consequently we do not know what the policy of the Administrative Council is, or what it will be, in this case."

In her visits to Association colleges, especially in the Middle West, the investigator has had many occasions to observe these still common barriers which prevent Negro students from living in dormitories on the campuses. At one large university in the Middle West, even the YWCA adheres to this discriminatory policy! The YWCA executive director at this institution reports that the Advisory Board minutes record:

"The House Committee recommends that _____ Cottage (belonging to the YWCA) be a graduate women's house including the admission of acceptable students from abroad should they apply. For the present will not include Negro students, pending further study of our housing policy."

She reports further:

"The undergraduate residence belonging to the YWCA does not now admit Negroes, but does admit students from abroad. The above minutes are related to possible change in this policy."

Negro students at a number of institutions in the Middle West are barred from participation in some or all athletic contests, usually with the explanation that there exists a so-called "gentleman's agreement" among Big Ten schools to maintain this discrimination. At

¹ This comment comes from an institution in Kansas, where there is no such state "Jim Crow" law as here reported. It is significant that the student Christian Association official who filled out the inquiry form seems not to be aware of this fact, and apparently is not inclined to question the erroneous statement by a faculty member.

least one institution reports such athletic barriers against both Negroes and Japanese-Americans, saying:

"Games played with other schools sometimes demand 'No Japanese-American students'; and almost all demand 'No Negroes'."

It is in the closer personal and social relationships that discriminations against minority students are most marked. The investigator has observed, and Associations participating in this inquiry confirm, that Negro students are universally barred from membership in national fraternities and sororities to which white students belong; and, with rare exceptions, this is also true of local fraternities. Moreover, the separate Negro sororities and fraternities are still denied participation in Pan-Hellenic and interfraternal councils on most campuses.

Jewish students are frequently admitted to fraternities and sororities; although subtle, but very definite, discriminations against them are common. Very rarely are Japanese-American students invited to membership in these organizations; although at least one Association in the Middle West reports:

"One Japanese-American student is a member of one of the fraternities. In one of the church fraternities both Japanese-Americans and Negroes have been admitted. In the corresponding women's sorority no Negroes have been admitted."

It is to be expected, of course, that the prejudices reflected by the discriminations here reported would carry over with special intensity to the realm of interracial dating. Illustrative is this comment from an Association in a small college in the Middle West:

"One big difference is that some girls do date Jewish fellows, but one almost never sees a white and Negro dating; and, thinking about it, I can't remember Japanese-Americans and non-Japanese-Americans together as dates. As

members of a large play group I have seen all of them together."

The investigator has found very few institutions in which interracial dating, at least in an open manner, goes on at all. In one middle-western college which is notable for its interracial tradition, such Negro-white dating is said to be "accepted" in principle; and frequently occurs in practice. There have been instances, however, in which the white girls involved were called in by officials of the college and advised, on a "personal" basis, against further such social activities.

Housemothers in many instances tend to discourage girls from interracial social experiences they would otherwise seek. As one Association reports:

"The [dormitory] housemother is strongly prejudiced against the Negro. She has spent a number of years in the South."

The investigator has been told of several instances in which sorority housemothers frowned upon the practice of inviting Negroes in as guests; and at one especially liberal institution, a formal policy was announced taking all interracial questions out of the hands of housemothers, and decreeing that such issues be handled only by the dean of women.

The following excerpts from Association reports reflect what appears to be a pronounced and general attitude against friendly relations between white and Negro students, an attitude which is also directed to some extent toward certain other minority groups:

"When one white girl attended a dance with a Negro much comment was made on it, though no adverse action was taken."

"The only open discrimination on the campus is against dating members of minority groups. This is particularly true in regard to the South Americans, who seem more anx-

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ious to date those not in their group. Only on this point is social pressure strong."

"There is definite discouragement given to Negroes, especially [as regards] intermingling with whites at social affairs. Working together up to 5:00 p.m. is o.k.; eating together at 6:00 p.m. is not o.k."

Many Associations, in interpreting the position of the Negro at their institutions, report tendencies toward "self-isolation" on the part of Negro students. In some cases this behavior is said to take the form of voluntary group segregation, as in the following reports from one university on the Pacific Coast and two others in the Middle West:

"Negroes prefer to congregate and eat by themselves during lunch period."

"There is a strong voluntary segregation policy among Negro students especially."

"Although the school has no policy discriminating against Negroes, still Negroes do not mix freely with other groups (even to the extent that other minority groups do). In dining halls they eat at separate tables."

In other cases, especially where there are very few Negro students on the campus, this tendency toward "self-isolation" is said to be expressed through quiet withdrawal from social contacts with white students. These comments, also from the Far West and the Middle West, are typical:

"Since there is only one Negro in the school, the problem is practically nonexistent. There is absolutely no prejudice shown toward this student, but she obviously feels not free to participate in some social events. She goes away for the weekend whenever a dance is held, although there is no objection to her attending such functions."

"Many of these students, particularly the Negroes, do not feel free to attend college social functions, enter college activities, or even make full use of the YM and YW. This may possibly be traced to the fact that each of the minority groups is represented by only a very small number of stu-

dents; and it might also be traced to some very subtle discriminations."

This observed tendency toward withdrawal, or toward so-called "voluntary segregation", is a fairly general and very significant characteristic of minority group behavior. It must be understood as a reaction against overt or subtle forms of discriminations, not as some "desire" for segregation. Feeling that their general social environment is hostile, minority students seek to avoid unpleasantness by withdrawing, or to find security through close association with others with whom they are *en rapport*. Such behavior is perfectly natural. Its significance for this inquiry lies in the fact that it is an almost unerring symptom of existing prejudices or discriminations against minority students on the campus.

The many overt forms of discrimination here reported as affecting Negroes more than any other minority group afford ample basis for interpreting observed tendencies for Negro students to seek the companionship of one another. Still more direct evidence, of a subjective nature, is found in the results of an opinion poll conducted by one student Christian Association at a middle-western state university enrolling more than 3,000 students, including fewer than two dozen Negroes.

During 1944-45, this YWCA's Public Affairs Committee administered a social-distance scale on the Negro to students in the dining rooms, asking them to answer "Yes" or "No" to a series of thirteen simple questions. Instructions on the mimeographed form included this statement: "It is more important for our purpose to know *your* opinion than to have you agree with us; so please be frank!" The responses of nearly 800 students to the attitude-scale items are highly illuminating:

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92% would not "marry a Negro".

83% would not "room with a Negro girl" if white and Negro students occupied the same dormitory.

80% would "be greatly disturbed if a friend married a Negro".

73% believe the University "should have a dormitory especially for Negro students".

65% "believe that Negroes should have separate hotels, residential districts, schools, etc."

64% "believe that Negroes desire to be segregated in the manner suggested" by the item above.

63% would "object to having white and Negro students occupy the dormitory".

44% would "cease to associate with a friend who married a Negro".

43% object to "having Negro students eat, cook and dance" in the campus recreation center.

38% believe that their "tolerance in regard to the Negro is 'intellectual' rather than practical".

25% "feel socially superior to the Negro who has had equal educational opportunities".

23% would "be opposed to being administered to by a colored nurse".

18% would "object to sitting next to a Negro" in the local community theater.

It will be noted that whereas only about one-fifth of these students would object to the mere physical proximity of Negroes (as in the "next" seat in a theater); and only about one-fourth would object to personal service by a Negro nurse; yet nearly one-half of the students object to having Negroes use the recreation center for social affairs; and from two-thirds to nine-tenths reject the still more intimate social relationships included on the social-distance scale.

This inquiry affords no data by which to judge how representative the opinion-poll responses of these students in one school are of students in the other institutions surveyed. The investigator's observations at

many of these schools suggest, however, that the attitudes here expressed fairly closely approximate the "norm". If this be so, and if stated YWCA ideals on interracial relations be accepted as a criterion, then it is clear that subjective prejudices as well as objective discriminations against Negro students constitute a serious problem in many of the institutions where student Christian Associations are operative.

» TRENDS

The problem of minority group discrimination on the college campus and in the neighboring community is by no means a static problem. It is constantly changing; and most institutions report (in the spring of 1946) that the change is in the *direction* of more democratic and wholesome relations between minority students and the other students at the school.

The student Associations participating in this inquiry were asked to comment upon any minority group situation "which is not now a problem but has been in previous years". Only about one-fourth of the Associations responded to this request, most of the replies coming from the Middle West, with but a few from the Northeast, South and Far West, respectively. Their reports afford some basis—and probably a reliable one—for interpreting the changing pattern of minority group relationships in these institutions.

One of the changes most frequently reported is the growing acceptance of Japanese-American students, who were not permitted to attend any of the western institutions during World War II, and against whom prejudices were pretty sharp on the campuses in other regions. Illustrative of the changing situation of Japanese-American students on the campus are these reports from selected institutions in the South:

"Japanese-Americans generally accepted as a result of relocation program on campus and in the community."

"A regent ruling that Japanese-Americans could not hold a university job was revoked partially through student effort."

"A Japanese-American had been insulted by a restaurant owner. The students at large boycotted the restaurant, and it finally closed down."

"Admission of Japanese-American students caused some resentment in town, but eventually they were accepted."

Similar developments affecting the campus status of Japanese-American students are reported by institutions in the Middle West:

"A Japanese-American male student had difficulty getting a room in town. Since then several . . . have come to the campus and are employed by the college and by the Christian Student Foundation (YWCA) and by business men. There is no more difficulty now."

"Japanese-Americans could not enter Engineering College during the war. After the West Coast turmoil quieted down, a few were admitted."

"During the war there were four Japanese-Americans at college. Protest arose when one planned to join the church. She joined, became an accepted member, and all objections have ceased."

"There was a doubt that Japanese-Americans would be admitted to college, but they were readily accepted by most of the students."

"When Japanese-American students first came there was considerable discrimination against them in town. College students backed them, and now this has been changed considerably."

"When Japanese-American boy first arrived there was discrimination on the part of the faculty members and people from town."

"When first Japanese-American students arrived the townspeople opposed their coming."

"During the war there was feeling against Japanese-American students by the people in town, although they were not refused service in restaurants."

Only one Association, located at a southern institution, called attention to a changed situation for Jewish students. It reports:

"There had been one privately-owned dormitory with a Jewish quota of twenty, but this has been changed."

There are reports from all regions, including the South, of progressive changes in the situation of Negro students. One institution notes simply:

"Negroes are now attending the college."

Another comments:

"Ten years ago—no privileges for Negroes; now there are a few."

There are many reports of improved housing accommodations for Negroes on the campus and in the community. These are typical:

"Accommodations for Negroes in hotels—due to public opinion. Negro women in dormitories—change in administration policy."

"Interracial living on nonsegregated basis was introduced two years ago."

"Two Negro girls housed in women's dorms, one Negro boy in International House, and one Negro girl in Foundation House."

"Until three years ago no Negro girl was admitted to Home Economics practice house. A petition on the part of white girls living in the practice house changed this. Until three or four years ago Negro girls were not admitted to residence halls; but an edict from Administration saying that all students must live in the residence halls changed this."

"Negroes were not allowed to live in dorms before the war. This has been changed, but I do not know what caused it."

Improvements in campus and community eating arrangements and facilities are reported by a number of institutions. To illustrate:

EXTENT OF INTERRACIAL PROBLEMS

"Special dining room in hotel is now open to Negroes when accompanied by whites."

"Restaurants and movies formerly closed to Negroes. Interracial 'visiting' brought about the change."

"Negro students are now permitted to eat in the university dining rooms, due to change in the policy of the Administrative Council—which was due in large measure to YWCA policy of inviting Negro students as guests to eat in dining rooms."

"Negroes are now permitted to eat in cafés around campus. This was partly because of mass student agitation, and partly the accomplishment of certain individual students."

"USO cleared use of restaurants for both Negro service men and civilian workers. Formerly no Negroes were allowed to live in town; now there are a few living here." (Southwest Region)

There is a wide range of other progressive changes reported with reference to fuller Negro participation in curricular and extracurricular activities on the campus. These comments are illustrative of a variety of such changes.

"Acceptance of Negro women in all activities accomplished through dogged effort, via work efficiently and beautifully done, etc."

"Negroes now included in demonstrations (exhibitions) due to Administration."

"Negro women are now allowed to take a six-week Home Managing course. The change came through combined efforts of YW and churches. A poll was conducted among senior women, and no objection was found whatsoever."

"Prior to 1944 Negroes were barred from swimming pools."

"In general school social functions, there are now no restrictions."

"Social university dances were formerly prohibited to Negro students. Tickets are now available to all groups."

"Formerly Negroes were not admitted to fraternities and sororities. Now a Negro girl is in one of the sororities and

another is being pledged. Action was the result of Social Action Committee."

"International House established in 1944. This evolved in part from the Christian Youth Conference Forum."

"A problem of places to meet interracially and intercollegiately—now Negro YW and YM available. The white Y was always available but [we] did not feel welcome always." (Southern Region)

There are also scattered reports of some weakening in community discriminations against Negroes, such as the following:

"Formerly Negroes barred from department stores; now very few open to them."

"A law was passed several years ago enabling minority groups to attend movies."

"There had been no barber shop where Negroes could get their hair cut. Two years ago the theological students and townspeople established an interracial barber shop where all races can be served. Tried to force the issue with other barbers first without success."

It is significant that only one institution, located in the Far West, reported that "problems [of discrimination] are on the increase, not the decrease"; and its reference was to the "Mexican minority chiefly".

During the year since the initial inquiry forms were sent to campus Associations, there has been a noticeable sharpening of racial discriminations in America generally; and it is theoretically tenable that such a negative trend soon will find expression on college and university campuses. The early 1947 travels of the investigator in the Middle West gave some evidence of such a development, but only in one respect—a tendency toward increased anti-Semitism among students on the campus.

On the other hand, there is considerable evidence of continuing progressive change. Wartime prejudices against Japanese-Americans are diminishing; and these students seem to be well on the way toward satisfactory

adjustments. Many traditional discriminations against Negro students are being challenged—such as in the broad and effective student campaign at Northwestern University (Illinois) for dormitory facilities for Negroes; student protests at Miami University (Ohio), Pennsylvania State College, Syracuse University (New York), and other institutions against anti-Negro discriminations in athletics; the increasing number of Negroes being appointed to the faculties of northern colleges and universities; and the organized support given by University of Texas students to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its legal fight for the right of Negroes to attend the University Law School.

On college and university campuses, at least, the general trend in interracial relations—even in the spring of 1947—seemed still to be in the direction of progress.

It is important to note also that the sentiments and organized activities of students are reported as the main factor making for progressive change in interracial relations in many of the institutions and neighboring communities with which this inquiry deals. There is considerable evidence that student thinking on this question is somewhat more advanced than that of the university faculty and administration, and is far ahead of that of the townspeople. More significant still, at least for the purposes of this inquiry, is the further fact that organized student action has many times been successful in modifying progressively certain long-established discriminations against minority groups—not only on the campus, but even in the neighboring community.

It is clear that there does exist, indeed, a very substantial problem of discrimination against Negroes,

Japanese-Americans and Jews at many colleges and universities where student Christian Associations are located. Such discriminations, although still marked, have tended somewhat to wane during recent years. We turn now to a consideration of what student Associations are doing to strengthen and accelerate this progressive trend.

THE EXTENT AND NATURE OF INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS

HOW GENERALLY ARE NEGRO, JEWISH AND JAPANESE-American students included in the membership of student Associations? What definite goals do campus Associations set out to achieve in the field of interracial relations? What *changes in conditions* do they pose as objectives to be attained? Precisely what do these Associations *do* in seeking to accomplish their purposes? What types of activities are included in their interracial program? Who plans the program? What role does the advisory board play?

These are the questions with which this chapter deals. Having interpreted the extent and nature of the problem of minority group discrimination on and around college campuses, our concern at this point is to determine precisely what student Associations are trying to do about it.

» MINORITY STUDENTS IN ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP

The 156 cooperating Associations were asked to report the size of their total memberships, together with the numbers of Jewish, Japanese-American and Negro students included in the totals. Analysis of Table 10 reveals that the typical (i.e. median) Association has approximately 150 members, which also represents the median size in the Northeast and Middle West areas. The typi-

INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS OF STUDENT YWCA'S

» TABLE 10 «

Total and Minority Group Membership of Student Associations

NUMBER OF MEMBERS	TOTAL BY REGIONS					MINORITY GROUPS		
	North-east	Middle West	West	South	Total	Jews	Japanese-Americans	Negroes
Above 1,000	1	2	—	—	3	—	—	—
901 to 1,000	—	1	1	—	2	—	—	—
801 to 900	1	1	1	1	4	—	—	—
701 to 800	—	4	1	2	7	—	—	—
601 to 700	—	3	1	2	6	—	—	—
501 to 600	—	1	2	1	4	—	—	—
401 to 500	4	1	3	4	12	—	—	—
301 to 400	5	3	—	6	14	—	—	—
201 to 300	1	6	1	7	15	—	—	—
151 to 200	1	5	2	2	10	—	—	—
101 to 150	3	4	4	2	13	1	—	—
91 to 100	1	6	1	—	8	—	—	—
81 to 90	—	2	2	—	4	—	—	—
71 to 80	1	1	3	—	5	2	—	—
61 to 70	—	4	1	—	5	1	—	—
51 to 60	2	3	1	—	6	1	—	—
41 to 50	—	2	1	1	4	—	—	—
31 to 40	2	2	1	1	6	5	—	2
21 to 30	3	1	4	2	10	5	—	1
11 to 20	1	1	1	1	4	14	1	2
6 to 10	—	—	—	—	—	5	2	7
1 to 5	—	—	—	—	—	23	47	27
"Some"	—	—	—	—	—	7	6	6
None	—	—	—	—	—	71	90	101
No Reply	2	3	4	5	14	21	10	10
Total	28	56	35	37	156	156	156	156

cal Association has about 90 members in the West, and 300 in the South. The range is from 20 to more than 1000 members. However, fewer than one-fourth of the Associations have memberships larger than 400.

The minority student memberships are generally very small in those Associations reporting any at all.

EXTENT OF INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS

Typically there about seven Jews, one or two Japanese-Americans, and about three Negroes. One Association reports as many as 150 Jews in its membership; but no Association reports more than 20 Japanese-American members or more than 40 Negro members.

It is perhaps of special significance that large proportions of these student Associations report no Jewish, Japanese-American or Negro membership. As may be seen from Table 11, the incidence of these minority groups in the Association membership is considerably less than in the case of institutional enrollments.

Whereas 72 per cent of the institutions enroll Jewish students, only 41 per cent report Jewish members of the student Association. This, of course, is understand-

» TABLE 11 «

*Number and Percentage of Institutions Reporting
Minority Enrollments and Minority Association
Memberships**

ITEM	JEWs	JAP.-AMER.	NEGROES
Number Reporting:			
Enrollments	112	73	77
Y Memberships	64	56	45
Per Cent Reporting:			
Enrollments	72	47	49
Y Memberships	41	36	29

* Based upon the data of Tables 4 and 10.

able on religious grounds. Perhaps the notable thing is that so large a number of student Association groups do include Jews.

There are proportionately more than three-fourths

as many Associations reporting Japanese-American members as there are reporting the enrollment of such students in the institution. Whereas 72 per cent report Japanese-American enrollments, some 41 per cent report Japanese-American members of the YWCA or student Christian Association.

With Negro students, however, there appears to be a significant difference. Whereas 49 per cent of the Associations report Negro students on the campus, only 29 per cent (proportionately about three-fifths as many) report Negro Association members.

There is no norm by which to determine to what extent and in what numbers student Associations "ought" to include minority students in their membership. It would seem, however, especially since interracial relations is a major program emphasis of the YWCA, that one of the first things every Association should do is to guarantee that its own membership reflect the interracial composition of the student body as a whole. To bring Jewish, Japanese-American and Negro students into the YWCA membership—in substantial numbers—would seem to be a necessary starting point for an effective student Association interracial program.

The relatively small number of Associations with Jewish, Japanese-American or Negro members, and the very small numbers of such students belonging to Associations where they have been brought in, may reflect inadequate attention to this question on the part of the campus YWCA leadership. On the other hand, it may be that many Associations have actively sought minority student members, but have been unable to attract them to the organization. In either case, important programatic implications flow from the low incidence of minority student membership in the YWCA which is revealed by the data of Tables 10 and 11.

» GOALS STATED FOR 1945

In the realm of interracial relations, as in any other, progressive change is most readily accomplished through purposeful activities which are directed toward very definite, clearly defined goals. Diffuse efforts may be quite as sincere and vigorous without accomplishing anything very definite—largely because no definite, measurable objectives were set as guides to action.

Because of this importance of clearly defined goals for interracial program activities, student Associations participating in this study were asked to indicate “what (if any) definite changes your Association set out to make during 1945 in the campus or community conditions and relationships facing Negro, Jewish, Japanese-American or other minority groups.” They were instructed to note by checkmark if “no definite goals were set for changes in this regard”, or to list whatever “specific changes” they set out to accomplish.

Only 39 Associations, one-fourth of those cooperating with this inquiry, report having set any definite goals whatever for their interracial programs during 1945. As is shown by Table 12, some 80 of the Associations (51 per cent) reported that “no definite goals were set”, and another one-fourth (24 per cent) did not reply to the question. It would seem that but few of these Associations have learned to apply, at least in their interracial programs, the very important principle that *focalized* effort, directed toward *clearly defined* goals, is most likely to get the desired programmatic outcomes. To see one’s goals clearly, helps to attain them.

The term “goals” as used in this inquiry is defined as “*definite changes*” an Association sets out to make “*in the campus or community conditions and relationships*” facing minority students. Most of the 39 Associations

» TABLE 12 «

*Number of Associations Reporting Definite Goals,
or Stating That None Were Set, by Regions*

REGION	NUMBER OF ASSOCIATIONS			
	Listing Definite Goals	Reporting "No Goals"	Not Reporting	Total
Northeast.....	7	15	6	28
Middle West.....	12	35	9	56
West.....	9	14	12	35
South.....	11	16	10	37
Total.....	39	80	37	156
Per Cent.....	25	51	24	100

replying positively to this section of the questionnaire listed goals which, although not always stated with precision, do fairly well satisfy this definition. Some of them clearly stated definite, measurable objectives; and others implied such definite goals in statements which were not so clear. Many other Associations, however, listed vague or very general purposes as "goals"; and a few others listed activities and procedures, suggesting that the concept of "goal", as here used, is inadequately understood.

There follow a few illustrations of these three categories of responses. All are direct quotations from the reports of cooperating Associations.

A. Definite goals, clearly stated or implied:

1. Tried to form a Girl Reserve [now called Y-Teen] Club at Negro High School.
2. Initiate a race relations study group.
3. To get Negro speakers on our campus.
4. An exchange program with a Negro college.

EXTENT OF INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS

5. To get Jewish and Catholic speakers in our assembly to discuss race relations.
6. To arrange for enrollment of Negroes at the college.
7. To get Negroes not to separate themselves.
8. To get whites to help Negroes secure campus jobs.
9. Campus survey—to obtain information as to the problems of minority groups on campus.
10. To get active participation by students in the campaign for an FEPC in California.
11. To admit Jewish students to YWCA.
12. Work with NAACP on keeping students informed about test case concerning enrollment of Negro student in law school.
13. To make Jewish people feel more at ease and wanted here on our campus.
14. To bring Negro speakers for vespers.
15. To have Negro girls admitted to dormitories.
16. To include members of minority groups in YWCA Executive Board.
17. To get Negro sororities admitted to Pan-Hellenic.
18. To abolish Negro discrimination in connection with restaurants and motion picture shows in town.
19. No discrimination in assignment of practice teachers.
20. Allowing Negro girls to live in Home Management House.

B. *Vague or general purposes:*

1. To create appreciation and understanding of each other.
2. Working for common purpose.
3. Definite work toward right racial attitudes.
4. Improving relations with Negroes in town by working with them in church and school.
5. More contact between white and Negro students.
6. To help by friendly attitudes to all of them.
7. To break down barriers through normal channels of program and contact.
8. Working for improvement in housing conditions.
9. Understanding of racial problems.
10. To encourage foreign students . . . to participate in our program to the mutual benefit of all.

C. *Procedures, activities or other responses not expressing goals:*

1. Cabinet discussion about methods and goals in interracial education.
2. In an interpretation of our purpose, we tried to stress the fact that we are interracial and interfaith.
3. Working in minority settlement houses in the city.
4. We have a race relations workshop in March.
5. To try out weekend work camps already established.

The above tabulations are not designed to suggest anything whatever about the validity of the interracial program goals stated or implied. Rather, their sole purpose is to illustrate what appear to be clearly thought-out "definite changes" which some Associations set out to effect (Group A), as contrasted with the vague generalities (Group B) and procedures or activities (Group C) which other Associations mistakenly list as "definite goals". It is evident that even the few Associations which sought to list program goals—not to mention the three-fourths which ignored the question or stated they had no such goals—can with profit give considerable more thought to the importance of defining *precisely* what they want to accomplish as a guide to the organization of effective programs for the improvement of interracial relations.

Associations were also asked to state "what . . . group (or groups) determined the year's objectives in interracial work". As may be seen from Table 13, responses to this questionnaire item were obtained from nearly twice as many Associations as listed goals for the year's work.

The Community Responsibility Commission, more often than any other group, is said to determine the objectives of Association work in the interracial field; and the YWCA cabinet ranks second in the frequency

EXTENT OF INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS

with which this function is performed. These two groups are said to determine program goals in 72 per cent of the 75 Associations reporting; and this pattern is fairly common to all four geographical regions. In all but four of the remaining 21 Associations, interracial work goals are said to be determined by general membership meetings or by the Christian Faith Commission. Only one Association, located in a southern

» TABLE 13 «

Groups Determining Objectives in Interracial Work, by Regions

GROUP	NUMBER OF ASSOCIATIONS				
	North-east	Middle West	West	South	Total
Community Responsibility Commission	9	9	6	8	32
YWCA Cabinet	5	9	3	5	22
Membership Meetings . . .	—	4	2	3	9
Christian Faith Commission	3	—	3	2	8
International Affairs Commission	—	2	—	1	3
Advisory Board	—	1	—	—	1
Total	17	25	14	19	75

institution, reports that goals are determined by the advisory board; and three Associations list the International Affairs Commission as the group responsible for this function!

It would seem to be quite appropriate for the initiative in formulating interracial program objectives to lie chiefly with an Association's Community Responsibility Commission or cabinet. It would seem desirable also for the entire membership and the advisory board to be

drawn into the process of formulating goals. This may, indeed, be the practice of many Associations, although their replies to this inquiry do not so indicate.

Quite apart from what group does the job, it is clear from the data of this section that a major and widespread need is to guarantee that some appropriate group carry out the all-important function of deciding, in advance, *precisely what changes in interracial behavior or conditions* the Association is going to try to bring about. Definite, measurable goals are an absolutely essential starting point for the development of effective interracial programs.

» TYPES OF ACTIVITIES DURING 1945

Associations participating in this inquiry were asked to indicate "the types and frequencies of interracial program activities actually carried out during 1945". For this purpose a check list of nearly three dozen activity items was provided. Associations were asked (1) to check those "not used at all", "tried without success" or "carried out successfully"; (2) to list, in blank spaces provided, any other activities used; and (3) to indicate the "minority group or groups affected" by each type of interracial program activity used.

Only 87 (55 per cent) of the 156 Associations supplying other groups of data requested by this inquiry gave full (or almost complete) reports on the types of interracial program activities they carried out during 1945. As may be seen from Table 14, some 17 per cent of these Associations only partially filled out the check list of program activities, and more than one-fourth (28 per cent) made no report on this item at all. When it is recalled that the *main* concern of this inquiry, clearly stated to participating Associations, was to gather information on precisely this point, it must be considered

very significant that only a little over one-half of even those Associations participating in the study made fairly

» TABLE 14 «

*Number and Percentage of Participating Associations
Reporting on Their Interracial Program Activities,
by Regions*

REGION	NO REPORT	PARTIAL REPORT	"FULL" REPORT	TOTAL
Northeast.....	7	1	20	28
Middle West.....	11	16	29	56
West.....	12	6	17	35
South.....	13	3	21	37
Total.....	43	26	87	156
Per Cent.....	28	17	55	100

complete reports on their interracial program activities. One can but wonder whether the others had anything substantial to report.

"Sending delegates to student conferences open to members of all minority groups" is the one program activity most generally used during 1945 by the student Associations reporting. As is shown by Table 15, some 75 Associations—nearly one-fourth of them in the South—said this activity was "carried out successfully"; and 37 Associations (nine in the South) reported successful "local interracial intercollegiate meetings". Only 11 Associations report that no delegates were sent to student interracial conferences, presumably of regional or national scope; whereas 29 report no participation in local interracial, intercollegiate meetings. Further, the relative predominance of this type of activity is characteristic of all four geographical regions.

It is clear that the pioneering role of the YWCA

in sponsoring interracial conferences—a major program emphasis for more than two decades, even in the South—is reflected in the data of Table 15. This is an extremely important development. It is through such local, area, regional and national conferences that many thousands of students have come, for the first time, to meet and work and live with students of other races on a plane of mutual respect and equality. Largely from such interracial conferences has come the impetus for such other interracial program activities as are carried out by student Associations.

It will be noted from Table 15 that 38 and 30 Associations, respectively, report cooperating with "other campus groups" and with "community groups" in the development of their interracial programs. Similarly, "working with the Advisory Board" is reported by 16 Associations.

Very few Associations report failure in their attempt to carry out the group of activities listed in Table 15. The outstanding negative fact is that these activities were "not used at all" by relatively large numbers of Associations.

"Discussion" activities rank second in the frequency with which they occur in the interracial programs of those Associations for which information is available. As may be seen from Table 16, some 51 Associations report "successful" use of discussions on interracial problems in Interracial Committee meetings, 48 in general membership meetings, and 40 in YWCA cabinet meetings.

It is probably very significant that membership discussions on "race problems *in general*" are reported by several times more Associations than held such discussions on *specific* problems on the campus or in the community, or on pending FEPC or anti-poll tax legisla-

» TABLE 15 «
*Interracial Conference Activities and Cooperation With Other Groups—
 Number of Associations Not Using, or Using With or Without Success, by Regions*

INTERRACIAL PROGRAM ACTIVITIES	NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS REPORTING:														
	Not Used at All					Tried Without Success					Carried Out Successfully				
	N.E.	M.W.	W.	S.	Total	N.E.	M.W.	W.	S.	Total	N.E.	M.W.	W.	S.	Total
1. Delegates to student interracial conferences	4	2	2	3	11	—	—	—	—	—	15	28	15	17	75
2. Local interracial intercollegiate meetings	8	8	5	8	29	—	—	—	—	—	8	14	6	9	37
3. Working with advisory board . .	9	14	4	10	37	—	—	1	—	1	1	7	6	2	16
4. Cooperating with other campus groups	6	9	4	5	24	—	—	1	—	1	5	11	6	16	38
5. Cooperating with community groups	5	14	2	5	26	1	—	1	—	2	4	6	8	12	30

tion. Discussion of the problem "in general" may contribute to greater understanding of the problem and to more wholesome attitudes; but the consideration of "specific" problems is more likely to lead to action. And it is in action—*doing something* about interracial problems—that truly functional understandings and attitudes, as well as objective results, are most likely to be achieved.

Successfully carried out surveys of interracial problems on the campus are reported by 15 Associations, and similar surveys of interracial problems in the community by 10 Associations. This type of activity warrants much wider use. Indeed, a systematic survey of the nature and extent of campus and community interracial problems would seem to be an essential basis for program planning.

Although discussion and survey activities (Table 16) were used by fewer Associations than used interracial conference activities (Table 15), still, the former group of activities was reported as "tried without success" by several times more Associations than made such reports on the latter group of activities. Just why there should be greater difficulty in the successful execution of discussion and survey activities is not apparent from the data of this inquiry. The thrill most students get out of going away to conferences may partially explain the higher percentage of "successful" use of the interracial conference activity. It may be also that intra-Association prejudices or conflicts on problems of interracial relations have something to do with the higher incidence of failure in the attempted use of discussion and survey activities.

With the group of program activities listed in Table 16, even more than with those of the previous table, an outstanding fact to be noted well is that these more or

» TABLE 16 «

Survey and Membership Discussion Activities—Number of Associations Not Using, or Using With or Without “Success”, by Regions

INTER-RACIAL PROGRAM ACTIVITIES	NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS REPORTING:														
	Not Used at All					Tried Without Success					Carried Out Successfully				
	N.E.	M.W.	W.	S.	Total	N.E.	M.W.	W.	S.	Total	N.E.	M.W.	W.	S.	Total
1. Campus surveys.....	11	17	5	13	46	—	1	1	—	2	3	6	2	4	15
2. Community surveys.....	11	18	6	15	50	—	—	2	—	2	2	4	2	2	10
3. Interracial Committee discus- sions.....	5	13	3	9	30	—	—	—	1	1	14	19	8	10	51
4. Cabinet discussions.....	6	10	2	3	21	1	—	1	1	3	8	11	9	12	40
5. Membership meetings on:															
a. Race problem in general.....	5	9	6	6	26	—	—	—	1	1	12	20	9	7	48
b. Specific campus problems.....	11	13	7	8	39	—	1	1	—	2	3	7	—	3	13
c. Specific community problems.	10	14	6	6	36	—	2	1	—	3	4	5	2	6	17
d. FEPC legislation.....	11	17	7	6	41	—	1	—	—	1	4	3	4	8	19
e. Anti-poll tax legislation.....	7	17	8	8	40	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	—	3	7

less elementary activities were "not used at all" by large numbers of the Associations reporting.

"Holding public meetings on interracial problems" is reported as a "successful" program activity by 34 Associations. As is also reported in Table 17, some 30 Associations were successful in "getting books on interracial subjects in the library", and 28 in "circulating pamphlets and other (interracial) literature in the library". This group of interracial program activities ranks third in frequency of mention by the Associations reporting.

Other largely educational (or "publicizing") activities are reported by 24 Associations which "sponsored articles and editorials in the campus newspaper", 15 Associations which placed such articles in "Association publications", and 12 Associations which sponsored interracial "exhibits on the campus".

Direct action approaches are reported by 15 Associations which sent "committees or delegations to college officials" in connection with interracial problems, six Associations which sent such delegations to (presumably local) "public officials", and eight Associations which circulated "petitions" relating to problems of interracial relations.

The frequency of "tried without success" reports is greater for the activities listed in Table 17 than for those in either of the two preceding tables; and the same is true of the frequency with which this (Table 17) group of activities was "not used at all".

The program activities least frequently used by Associations reporting are those designed to gain "admission of minority group students" into specific campus functions or facilities from which they are barred. Table 18 shows that eight Associations (two in the South) tried "successfully" to get minority students ad-

» TABLE 17 «
*Public Meetings, Delegations, Petitions and Other Publicizing Activities—
 Number of Associations Not Using, or Using With or Without Success, by Regions*

INTER-RACIAL PROGRAM ACTIVITIES	NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS REPORTING:														
	Not Used at All					Tried Without Success					Carried Out Successfully				
	N.E.	M.W.	W.	S.	Total	N.E.	M.W.	W.	S.	Total	N.E.	M.W.	W.	S.	Total
1. Public meetings.....	9	17	4	9	39	—	—	—	—	—	9	12	4	9	34
2. Delegations to college officials...	11	18	6	8	43	2	2	2	3	9	—	6	3	6	15
3. Delegations to public officials...	12	21	8	15	56	1	—	1	—	2	1	3	—	2	6
4. Petitions.....	11	24	12	10	57	—	—	1	—	1	2	2	1	3	8
5. Exhibits on campus.....	9	21	13	10	53	—	—	—	—	—	5	3	1	3	12
6. Books in library.....	4	18	5	9	36	—	2	—	1	3	10	10	5	5	30
7. Pamphlets and other literature in the library.....	4	21	6	9	40	—	1	—	1	2	11	6	6	5	28
8. Articles in Association publica- tions.....	8	20	7	9	44	—	1	1	1	3	5	5	2	3	15
9. Articles in campus newspapers	8	20	6	8	42	—	—	1	—	1	8	5	4	7	24

mitted "into the college"; and ten Associations (eight in the South) tried without success. Eight other Associations succeeded in getting minority students admitted "into honorary societies"; and one Association failed in such an effort.

Seven Associations report "successful" efforts to get minority students admitted "into the student union building"; and six each report success in gaining such admission "into college athletics", "into the campus cafeteria", and "into the chorus or glee club". Two Associations sought "successfully" to effect the admission of minority students "into fraternities or sororities"; whereas eight failed in similar attempts. Four Associations each report "successful" efforts to have minority students admitted "into dormitories", "into the band or orchestra", and "into swimming pools".

Although relatively few Associations made any reports at all on activities designed to gain admission of minority students into campus functions and facilities from which they are barred (Table 18), the number reporting that such activities were "tried without success" is greater than for any of the preceding three groups of program activities (Tables 15, 16 and 17). Moreover, in terms of the small number giving any response on this group of activities, the number reporting that the activities were "not used at all" are proportionately larger than in the case of the other three groups of program activities.

This relatively low incidence of activities designed to break down specific campus barriers against minority students, together with the relatively high incidence of failure in the attempts made, is understandable and significant. Associations are here dealing with and *trying to change* certain concrete manifestations of racial discrimination, crystallized by custom, and in some cases

» TABLE 18 «

Activities Designed to Get Minorities Admitted to Specific College Functions or Facilities—Number of Associations Not Using, or Using With or Without Success, by Regions

MINORITY STUDENT ADMISSION TO THE FOLLOWING	NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS REPORTING:														
	Not Used at All				Tried Without Success				Carried Out Successfully						
	N.E.	M.W.	W.	S.	Total	N.E.	M.W.	W.	S.	Total	N.E.	M.W.	W.	S.	Total
1. The college.....	7	12	7	10	36	2	1	2	5	10	2	4	—	2	8
2. Honorary societies.....	5	12	7	7	31	—	1	—	—	1	2	4	—	2	8
3. Fraternities or sororities.....	3	12	8	8	31	2	4	2	—	8	—	2	—	—	2
4. Dormitories.....	2	9	4	6	21	—	2	2	—	4	—	2	1	1	4
5. Swimming pools.....	3	8	6	6	23	—	—	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	4
6. College athletics.....	2	6	6	6	20	—	—	2	—	2	1	4	—	1	6
7. Campus cafeteria.....	2	7	6	6	21	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	3	6
8. Band or orchestra.....	2	7	6	6	21	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	4
9. Chorus or glee club.....	2	6	5	6	19	—	—	1	—	1	1	2	1	2	6
10. Student Union building.....	2	6	5	6	19	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	2	3	7

INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS OF STUDENT YWCA'S

institutionalized. The always-to-be-expected resistance to any substantial change in the *status quo* at least partially explains the relatively more frequent failure of student Associations in their use of this type of program activity. Awareness of such resistance—and perhaps some degree of readiness to accept things as they are—may partially explain the failure of most Associations

» TABLE 19 «

Minority Groups Affected by Different Types of Association Program Activities, All Regions

PART I

INTERRACIAL PROGRAM ACTIVITIES BY TYPES	NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS REPORTING:		
	Jews	Jap.-Amer.	Negroes
<i>A. Conferences, cooperation with groups:</i>			
1. Delegates to student interracial conferences.....	19	24	34
2. Local interracial intercollegiate meetings.....	5	7	14
3. Working with advisory board....	3	4	7
4. Cooperating with other campus groups.....	4	6	16
5. Cooperating with community groups.....	3	2	10
<i>B. Surveys and Membership Discussion:</i>			
1. Campus surveys.....	6	8	10
2. Community surveys.....	2	2	12
3. Interracial Committee discussions	16	13	36
4. Cabinet discussions.....	12	11	25
5. Membership meetings on:			
a. Race problem in general....	9	15	27
b. Specific campus problems....	3	2	8
c. Specific community problems	2	4	16
d. FEPC legislation.....	5	4	12
e. Anti-poll tax legislation.....	1	—	3

EXTENT OF INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS

even to try to eliminate specific discriminations against minority students in campus functions and facilities.

It will be recalled that cooperating Associations were asked not only to check or list the interracial program activities they used or did not use during 1945, but also to indicate the "minority group or groups affected" in the case of each activity used. The responses of Associa-

» TABLE 20 «

*Minority Groups Affected by Different Types of
Association Program Activities, All Regions*

PART II

INTERRACIAL PROGRAM ACTIVITIES BY TYPES	NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS REPORTING:		
	Jews	Jap.-Amer.	Negroes
<i>C. Public Meetings, Delegations, etc.</i>			
1. Public meetings	5	4	18
2. Delegations to college officials . . .	—	2	12
3. Delegations to public officials . . .	1	2	4
4. Petitions	3	3	7
5. Exhibits on campus	2	3	5
6. Books in library	9	8	13
7. Pamphlets and other literature in the library	9	5	14
8. Articles in Association publications	6	4	9
9. Articles in campus newspapers . . .	5	5	9
<i>D. Seeking Minority Admission into:</i>			
1. The college	—	6	10
2. Honorary societies	4	1	4
3. Fraternities or sororities	3	1	2
4. Dormitories	1	1	4
5. Swimming pools	—	—	1
6. College athletics	1	—	2
7. Campus cafeteria	—	—	2
8. Band or orchestra	—	—	—
9. Chorus or glee club	1	—	1
10. Student Union Building	—	—	1

tions to this latter request are summarized in Tables 19 and 20.

Inspection of Tables 19 and 20 reveals that practically all types of interracial program activities are reported as affecting Negro students far more frequently than they affect Jewish or Japanese-American students. A crude measure of these intergroup differences is afforded by the following table which summarizes the frequencies reported on the four groups of activities (A, B, C and D) for each of the three minority groups.

It may be seen from Table 21 that, with only one exception (Group-A activities affecting Japanese-Americans), each of the four groups of interracial program activities is used to affect the conditions and relationships of Negro students by more than twice as many Associations as use them to affect either of the other two minority student groups. This greater emphasis upon interracial program activities relating to the special problems of Negro students is consistent with the greater frequency and acuteness of the problems which Negro students face.

Despite the much smaller numbers of Japanese-American students enrolled in the institutions here involved, it is seen from Table 21 that the number of Association program activities affecting these students is slightly larger than the number affecting Jews. This fact probably reflects a recognition of the more marked discriminations against Japanese-Americans as compared with Jewish students.

The findings revealed by Table 21 are significant. They suggest that the Associations reporting are adapting their interracial programs to the very real differences which exist in the conditions and relationships of Negro, Japanese-American and Jewish students on their campuses and in the neighboring communities.

EXTENT OF INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS

» TABLE 21 «

*Number of Interracial Program Activities Reported as Affecting Jewish, Japanese-American and Negro Students; What Per Cent the Totals for Other Groups Are of Total for Negroes; by Types of Activities**

ITEM	TYPES OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES			
	Group A Interracial Conferences, etc. (5 items, Table 19)	Group B Surveys and Discussion (9 items, Table 19)	Group C Meetings and Dele- gations, etc. (9 items, Table 20)	Group D Ending Specific Discrimi- nations (10 items, Table 20)
Number reported as affecting:				
Negroes.....	81	149	91	26
Jews.....	34	56	40	10
Japanese-Americans..	43	59	36	9
Per cent other group totals are of Negro total:				
Negroes.....	100	100	100	100
Jews.....	42	37	44	38
Japanese-Americans..	53	39	39	34

* Based upon the data of Tables 19 and 20.

» THE ROLE OF ADVISORY BOARDS

The YWCA advisory board is conceived as “an integral part of the Association”, sharing in its activities, helping to analyze campus situations, “discovering new problems and needs” and giving “moral support” to the Association in the community. Moreover, advisory board members are expected to work, among other ways, through “joint meetings with the cabinet”, “participating actively in the life of the Association”, and to take part in “specific projects and committees, con-

tributing special knowledge and skill".¹ One might expect, therefore, that advisory boards play a vital role in the development of Association interracial programs; but the data of this inquiry suggest that this is not the case.

Asked to "describe briefly what role the advisory board played" in the interracial program, more than one-half of the Associations reported, simply, "None." As may be seen from Table 22, only 36 (46 per cent) of the Associations reporting said that advisory boards

» TABLE 22 «

*Number and Percentage of Associations Reporting
Some or No Participation by Advisory Boards
in Interracial Program, by Regions*

REGION	SOME	NONE	TOTAL
Northeast	8	17	25
Middle West	15	7	22
West	9	5	14
South	4	13	17
Total	36	42	78
Per Cent	46	54	100

played any role whatever in the interracial program. The investigator's subjective estimate, based upon a study of questionnaire responses, is that in only about 18 or 20 (roughly one-fourth) of the Associations did the advisory board play any substantial role. By and large, this finding is confirmed by the investigator's observations and inquiries on many of these college campuses.

¹ *The Advisory Board in the Student YWCA*, National Student Council of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations of the U. S. A., New York, N. Y., pages 6-7 (undated).

What was done by those advisory boards reported as participating in Association interracial programs is suggested by the typical responses listed below. All are direct quotations from reports sent in by cooperating Associations; the evaluative classification is the investigator's.

A. *Apparently substantial roles played:*

1. Reviewed program, gave sanction.
2. Drew up plans for our meetings together with students. Our collected material was organized by them.
3. Suggest past actions of the Association and their success. Interpret administration decisions.
4. Provided two members to direct discussion group. Interprets feeling of faculty. Carries on its own discussion on race. Aids program.
5. Held joint meetings with students.
6. Gave information, advice on problems, surveys, etc.
7. Our Race Relations Committee is a joint committee of students and advisers.
8. Helped sponsor interracial dinner meeting.
9. Sponsored organization of Community Commission to work with students on race.

B. *Apparently insignificant roles played:*

1. Insist they are sympathetic with our ideals, but decline to help us in practical action.
2. Gave moral support and individual inspiration.
3. Board verbally admires action, but because of close connections with administration has not to date taken either a positive stand or an active part.
4. Used only for problems that were complex.
5. Let us go ahead as we will, offering a few suggestions when needed.
6. Board given monthly report. Occasionally consulted.
7. Little part. Offered suggestions and gave social affairs for Cabinet.

The analyses of this chapter have shown that relatively few Associations have taken the elementary step of involving minority students in their membership;

that very few define definite and clear-cut goals for their interracial programs; and that those reporting on their program activities give chief emphasis to conferences and general discussions, largely neglecting activities designed to correct specific minority group discriminations on the campus and in the community. These are serious programmatic weaknesses. It may be that these inadequacies would readily be overcome if the YWCA advisory board played a vital role in the planning and development of the campus Association interracial program.

INTERRACIAL PROGRAM SUCSESSES, FAILURES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

WHAT DO STUDENT CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS CONSIDER to be their "most successful" and their "least successful" interracial program activities? How do they explain their successes and their failures? What definite "accomplishments" in improving minority group relationships do they attribute to the YWCA interracial program?

These are the questions with which this chapter deals. The evaluations which student Associations make of their own interracial program activities afford further insight into the nature and effectiveness of their operations in this area.

SUCSESSES AND FAILURES

The campus YWCA's participating in this study were asked to describe briefly the "most successful" and the "least successful" interracial program activities they carried out during 1945. In each case they were asked to state the purpose of the activity, what was done, results and why the activity is considered "most successful" or "least successful". The Associations were also asked to state the "chief reasons for success" in the case of activities they evaluate as "most successful". In the case of those considered "least successful", Associations were asked whether they would attempt the activities again and, if so, how they would change procedures.

It is perhaps significant that fewer responses were received on this section of the questionnaire than on any other. Only 57 (37 per cent) of the 156 Associations supplying other groups of data provided brief descriptions of their "most successful" interracial program activities; and only 25 (16 per cent) reported on their "least successful" activities.

The meager response to these questions may result, in part, from the form of this section of the questionnaire. Whereas most other information requested could be supplied by means of check marks, reports on interracial program successes and failures required some small measure of description and analysis. It may be also that many Associations had undertaken no definite interracial program activities which they considered worthy of reporting as "most successful" or "least successful", and that other Associations had not carried out enough such activities to make the selection here requested. Indeed, many of the Associations reporting on these points explained that the particular activity listed as "most successful" or "least successful" was, in fact, "the only program attempted".

Some of the program activities reported as "*most successful*" represent truly vital and significant projects in interracial education. Illustrative are the following:

A.

One student YWCA in the Far West undertook "to assist the returning Japanese-American families and Nisei students in their readjustment to life in our community; to meet the needs of Nisei women to the best of our ability; to integrate these students into the activities of our YWCA." The following activities were carried out: (1) visiting the Relocation Center to establish friendly contacts with Nisei from the area even before they returned; (2) meeting returning Nisei at train and helping them get settled; (3) participating in community efforts to find them jobs and per-

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manent housing; (4) helping to rehabilitate several church buildings as hostels; (5) bringing back on the YWCA board a Japanese-American woman who held such membership before the war; (6) employing a Nisei student on the Association's secretarial staff; (7) making grants and loans from the YWCA loan fund to needy Nisei students; (8) holding open house, teas, "firesides" and other social affairs involving white and Nisei students; and (9) bringing twenty-five Nisei girls into active leadership and participation in the YWCA committees and program.

B.

An Association in the Southwest reacted to the legal efforts of a Negro student to gain admission to one of the University's professional schools by carrying out these activities: (1) explaining to students the NAACP and the proposed court action; (2) preparing and distributing a fact sheet on Negro-white differentials in educational opportunity in the State; (3) interpreting the "Gaines Case" (which NAACP won before the Supreme Court in a similar action involving the University of Missouri); and (4) conducting a student poll on the question of admitting Negro students to the University. The project was developed through five separate committees on student poll, information, program, library and exhibits, and work with a Negro college in the State.

C.

A midwestern Association sought "to get our students, many of whom had never been in contact with other races, acquainted with outstanding representatives of the Negro race and of the Jewish faith". Among other things, (1) it invited a Jewish professor from the University of Chicago to lead a three-day conference on Judaism; and (2) it invited the Dean of Fisk University (Negro) to the campus twice, arranging for him to visit with small groups as well as speak in assemblies.

D.

Another Association in the Middle West undertook "to give positions of leadership to Negro girls in YWCA". One was elected vice-president, and another was appointed program co-chairman. "Both were sent to intercollegiate inter-

racial conferences, one to each as the only college representative."

E.

Still another midwestern Association set out "to get the restaurants and theaters (in the community) open to all people without regard to color". To this end groups of white and Negro girls attended the theaters and restaurants together, insisting upon their rights whenever objection was raised by the management. This Association reports that "most theaters and restaurants are now open. . . . The members of the group have learned what they should do and when they should do it. They refused to be sidetracked by petty arguments."

F.

An Association in the Northeast brought a Negro speaker to the campus to talk on educational facilities for Negroes. He brought five Negro students along. Interesting and informative interracial discussion on the subject followed the address.

G.

An Association in the Middle West undertook to establish "an interracial cooperative house where undergraduate women students interested in furthering the purposes of the YWCA might have a chance to put into practice their Christian beliefs". Support was obtained from the YWCA Cabinet, Advisory Board and Administration. The cooperative house was established—with four Negro and five white girls—and "had an extremely successful year". The Association also reports: "As a possible indirect result of this, two Negro girls have been admitted to the practice house for home economic majors. This has never been done before."

H.

An Association at a southern university sought "to better the relations" between its institution and a neighboring Negro college, and also "to become acquainted with members of the YWCA cabinet" at the latter institution. To this end it (1) organized panel discussions on "current problems such as labor and cooperatives" with students from both schools participating on the panels; and (2)

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arranged a supper "at the Episcopal Church" for members of the YWCA cabinets of the two institutions.

These examples of interracial program activities, it must be emphasized, are in no sense "typical". They are here carefully selected from among those reported as "most successful" by only 57 Associations in the four geographical areas, the total representing a small proportion (37 per cent) of the Associations participating in this inquiry. Even so, the projects and activities described briefly above are, for the most part, illustrative of the truly vital and significant interracial programs being developed by some campus YWCA's.

The "*chief reasons for success*" given by Associations reporting "most successful" projects are highly suggestive of what is required for the development of effective interracial programs. Typical are the following direct quotations:

- A. Good planning; cooperation.
- B. Group experience and fellowship on a different basis than racial differences. Group was interracial but discussed things of varied interest, rather than racial problems as such.
- C. Careful preparation of material presented; 100 per cent student participation.
- D. The broadmindedness of the Committee members concerning Negroes; deep interest of committee.
- E. Cooperation, very strong interest, hard work, support of students and assistance from faculty.
- F. Interested and enthusiastic group; dynamic leader.
- G. Interest of students was high, owing to the fact that we had a Negro freshman.
- H. Careful planning, efficient leadership, fine *esprit de corps* in a large working group.
- I. Because of the keen interest of the college community and because of the organization of the programs. Another factor was the interest of the administration and faculty.

- J. No apologies made for appointment [of Negro girls to Y leadership posts]. Complete trust given by other officers and cabinet members. Agreement of advisory group.
- K. A sincere intelligent discussion with a sympathetic faculty member.
- L. Active cooperation of Board and Association members; liberality of Administration.
- M. Personality of the leader.
- N. Students were solicited individually, and the program really encouraged everyone to take part equally.
- O. It was a campus-wide affair, planned by joint YM-YW Cabinets. Plans were well organized.
- P. Good planning, excellent participation and very interesting speakers.
- Q. City-wide range of organizations represented. Spirit of democratic intergroup relations.
- R. Good planning; mutual interest.
- S. We tried not to make the meeting abnormal in any way. We enlisted the aid of sympathetic college and town people.
- T. Cooperation given the students at the University by the young Negro teachers in the local high school.

These random explanations of "success" point up what would appear to be essentials for the development of effective interracial programs by any Association. First, of course, some vital and important project must be conceived and undertaken. Its successful prosecution would seem to be most likely if these conditions obtain: (1) careful planning; (2) genuine interest on the part of the YWCA sponsoring group; (3) broad participation by Association members and others on the campus and in the community; (4) cooperation from advisory board, faculty members, administration and adults in the community; (5) effective Y leadership; (6) a "natural" (i.e., neither ostentatious nor strained) ap-

INTERRACIAL PROGRAM ACCOMPLISHMENTS

proach to interracial association and (7) hard work. Here, indeed, is a reliable formula for success.

No less vital and significant than many of the interracial program activities reported as "most successful" are many of those which Associations participating in this study report as "least successful". The nature and conditions of these latter activities, together with reasons for failure, likewise afford helpful suggestions for the development of effective programs.

There follow examples of interracial program activities which Associations report as "*least successful*".

A.

A few members of an Association in a southern University, without clearing with the Y Committee or Cabinet, gave a luncheon in the private dining room of the Student Union building for a Negro woman seeking admission to the institution and her NAACP associates when they visited the campus. Sharp protests were aroused on the part of the newspapers and campus officials; and the Union was formally closed to Negroes.

B.

An Association in a border state in the Middle Atlantic region held an interracial recreational program at the local Negro high school, participated in by Y Cabinet members, other interested students, faculty members and several girls from the local white high school. The affair was immediately very successful; but it was followed by sharp protests from the Administration. Plans for similar follow-up procedures had to be abandoned.

C.

The Intercultural Commission of an Association in the Middle West held a series of discussion meetings on interracial problems. They seldom achieved their "purpose of bringing in new people"; and "many times the great majority of those present were people who already knew the things that were being said."

D.

An Association in the Northeast presented dramatic skits picturing discrimination against Negroes. It was an "interesting meeting and discussion, but nothing more".

E.

A midwestern Association held a discussion on minority group conditions in the community. There was general agreement on the need for a policy against discrimination; but "a useless argument over means . . . no means were decided upon."

F.

Another midwestern Association had for Religious Emphasis Week "a leader who was very prejudiced". "The members of the SCA Cabinet were so weak they could not stand up for what they had given lip service to. . . . This was not a planned interracial activity, but . . . one should be able to stand up for what he thinks wherever there are outcroppings of prejudice."

G.

Still another midwestern Association set out to establish an "Interracial Group" designed "to educate and eliminate racial prejudice". Practically all the Negro Y members joined this one group, "instead of two or three joining Interfaith, or Creative Leisure, or some other". Thus, it "isolated the Negro girl and her problems".

H.

An Association in the Northeast arranged a program with "a timely speaker", and sent invitations to about fifty people. "Because so few attended we were unable to carry out our organizational plans."

I.

An Association in the Far West sought to enhance the democratic liberties of Negroes in the town through surveys, talks, newspaper and campus articles. But the "town organizations acted very unsympathetic and careless as to minority liberties and security. . . . They did not help us in any way so far as giving the group more privileges."

J.

Another Association in the Far West tried to open up the Canteen for Negro students. A group of Y Cabinet girls and Negro friends went there to eat. As they left, the management asked the Negroes not to come back any more because the customers (mostly college students) objected. "Nothing was accomplished."

The lack of success which characterizes the activities here described cannot be attributed to their purposes or the nature of the projects undertaken. Rather, as the explanation given by Associations themselves makes clear, their failures resulted largely from remediable errors in planning and development.

Incidentally, the fact that many Associations are frank to report their interracial program "failures" is very wholesome, indeed. It suggests a sincerity and an objectivity in their approach to the problems of minority group relationships—qualities which are essential for effective work in this area.

Nearly all the Associations reporting "least successful" projects say they would attempt the unsuccessful program activities again, but with different plans and approaches. Typical of the *changed procedures and approaches* which they would use in subsequent attempts are the following direct quotations:

- A. Make definite plans for action [following antidiscrimination dramatic skits] and carry out the plans.
- B. Better publicity. . . . More personal contact in interesting new people.
- C. We would set up complete objectives and plans and have a large committee working on it [i.e., an interracial recreational program at local Negro high school]. Then take it to the Administration and tell them our plans. If not accepted, we would go ahead anyway. We discussed this in Cabinet, and this was our opinion.
- D. We need to stimulate more people to open their minds

to the point of taking the first step toward knowing the abilities and true nature of Negroes.

E. Putting interest into action.

F. (1) Planning would include consultation with Y Race Relations Committee and Cabinet and with Union management [i.e., before arranging luncheon with Negroes on southern university campus]. (2) Publicity would be carefully planned. (3) Group would be prepared to stand lawsuit on action.

G. We would limit our discussion to one aspect of the problem.

H. Attempt to have representatives from each organized group on the campus, such as sororities, honoraries, student executive council, administration, housemothers.

I. Stimulate action within groups themselves.

J. For the tea, more careful planning is necessary.

K. Will include refreshments, more challenging program, more publicity, more personal contact in giving specific invitations.

L. We should have more backing both from faculty members and from our parents—taxpayers in the State.

M. Start as a more organized, large, powerful group [i.e., in trying to eliminate discriminations against Negroes in the community].

N. Use a questionnaire to determine degree of racial prejudice on the campus. . . . The majority of the trade at the Canteen is by students; and those trying the experiment do not think the majority of the patrons object [i.e., to Negroes] as the management says.

Thus, in undertaking again those interracial program activities with which they initially failed, Associations would (1) plan much more carefully than before; (2) make special efforts to involve more people; (3) seek allies in the faculty, administration and in other organizations; (4) publicize the activity more widely; and (5) follow discussion with definite programs of action. Far from being discouraged or intimidated by failures and sharp protests incident to their original projects—not even by opposition from the college Administration!—

these Associations seem to have been stimulated to try again, avoiding many of the obvious errors which their previous unsuccessful experiences have made clear.

It is perhaps important to emphasize, once more, that the vital and significant group of "most successful" and "least successful" interracial program activities here analyzed are by no means typical of campus YWCA programs in general. (Would that they were!) On the contrary, there is considerable reason to believe that the prevailing general situation is more accurately reflected by one Association's report that "we have not done much at all along the interracial line this year"; and by another's report that its "least successful activity" is the complete "lack of an organized student Christian Association interracial program".

» ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Participating Associations were asked to indicate briefly "what definite *accomplishments* on the campus or in the community toward improving interracial relations during 1945 resulted *entirely* or in *large measure* from the program of the campus Association." Responses to this request came from only 56 Associations, representing 36 per cent of those supplying other groups of data. Here again, question is raised as to whether the failure of most student YWCA's participating in this study to report on their accomplishments is in large measure due to their having nothing significant to report.

It was noted in Chapter IV that many Associations seem not to understand this inquiry's use of the concept of "goal" or "objective", in the sense of *definite changes to be effected in the campus or community conditions and relationships of minority students*. A similar lack of understanding seems to be reflected by reports on the

"accomplishments" of YWCA interracial programs. A few Associations define their program accomplishments in terms of *definite, measurable results achieved*. A few others report *vague and subjective results*, which, although highly indefinite and not amenable to measurement, may nevertheless be conceived as "accomplishments". Most Associations, however, list their program *activities and procedures* as "accomplishments", apparently failing to differentiate clearly between means and ends.

There follows a complete tabulation of interracial program "accomplishments" reported by Associations supplying information on this point. Groups A and B differ widely as regards definiteness and objectivity; but both include what may properly be considered as *outcomes* or *results* of interracial program activities. Group C includes procedural and program activity items which may not correctly be conceived as "accomplishments". Frequencies to the right of items indicate the number of Associations which report a given "accomplishment" as resulting "entirely" or "largely" from the YWCA interracial program.

The accomplishments listed in Group A above indicate that some Associations are achieving definite results in their efforts to eliminate various objective discriminations which confront minority students on their campuses, and also in effecting definite organizational forms for developing more wholesome interracial relations. The admission of minority students to specific campus organizations or institutions or activities from which they were previously barred is an objective achievement about which there can be no question. In some cases these tangible accomplishments are said to result "entirely" from the YWCA program; although much more frequently are they reported as the outcomes of coopera-

INTERRACIAL PROGRAM ACCOMPLISHMENTS

"ACCOMPLISHMENTS"	NUMBER REPORTING THE YWCA INTERRACIAL PROGRAM AS:	
	"Entirely" Responsible	"Largely" Responsible
A. <i>Definite, objective results achieved:</i>		
1. Admission of Japanese-Americans to the institution.....	1	1
2. Admission of Negroes to all activities.....	—	1
3. Admission of Negroes to Mortar Board Honorary.....	—	1
4. Establishment of Interfaith—Interrace House.....	—	1
5. Organizing interfaith group....	1	—
6. Attended all school parties together.....	—	1
7. Opening Home Management House to Negroes.....	—	2
8. Organized Japanese-American group not in YWCA.....	1	—
9. Interracial Cooperative.....	1	—
10. Opening of Student Union Cafeteria on Sunday.....	—	1
11. Opening of practice teaching in high school to Negro teachers...	—	1
12. Jews admitted to YWCA.....	1	—
13. Establishment of Eta Tau Delta fraternity open to all races.....	—	1
14. Election of Negro Junior Counselor for dorms.....	—	1
15. Home Management House opened to Negro girls.....	—	1
16. Interracial housing, nonsegregation.....	1	1
17. Admission of two Negro girls in dorm.....	1	—
18. Admission of two Negro girls to Pan-Hellenic.....	1	—
19. Negro students eating in dining room.....	—	1
Total.....	8	14

INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS OF STUDENT YWCA'S

<p>"ACCOMPLISHMENTS" (Continued)</p>	<p>NUMBER REPORTING THE YWCA INTERRACIAL PROGRAM AS:</p>	
	<p>"Entirely" Responsible</p>	<p>"Largely" Responsible</p>
<p>B. <i>General, subjective and vague results achieved:</i></p>		
20. Fellowship or friendship	6	1
21. Awareness of need for action . . .	1	—
22. Education	1	1
23. Improving cabinet attitude . . .	1	—
24. Changing point of view of YWCA members	—	1
25. Realizing that all people have problems of some nature	—	1
26. Arousing student interest in race	—	1
27. Arousing student interest in NAACP test case	—	1
28. Better understanding of Negro .	—	2
29. Better understanding of Jew . . .	—	1
30. More campus participation by members of minorities	—	1
31. Directed feeling toward getting Administration to allow a Negro to enroll	—	1
32. Interest on campus in FEPC . . .	—	1
33. Changed attitudes on part of students and their parents re: work with Negro groups	1	—
Total	10	12
<p>C. <i>Program activities and procedures in- correctly reported as "accomplishments":</i></p>		
34. Negro Bible School (conducted by students)	1	—
35. Negro speaker on George W. Carver Day	2	1
36. Christmas project for under- privileged Negroes	1	—
37. Visiting homes of underprivi- leged Negroes	1	—

INTERRACIAL PROGRAM ACCOMPLISHMENTS

<p>“ACCOMPLISHMENTS” (Continued)</p>	<p>NUMBER REPORTING THE YWCA INTERRACIAL PROGRAM AS:</p>	
	<p>“Entirely” Responsible</p>	<p>“Largely” Responsible</p>
<p>C. <i>Program activities and procedures incorrectly reported as “accomplishments”:</i> (cont'd)</p>		
38. Exhibits on race relations on campus and in community.....	—	1
39. Membership in NAACP.....	—	1
40. Radio program on race relations.....	1	—
41. Inviting Negroes to YWCA meetings.....	1	1
42. Bringing Negro speakers to campus.....	1	—
43. Sponsoring Negro Girl Reserve [Y-Teens].....	1	—
44. Encouraging participation in school activities.....	—	2
45. Prodding Student Union.....	—	1
46. Recreation and handicraft for Mexican children.....	—	1
47. Meeting with Negro youth group.....	1	—
48. Visit to and help in Japanese-American hostel.....	—	1
49. Sending delegates to interracial conference.....	3	1
50. Having Prairie View Swing Orchestra in Assembly.....	—	1
51. Party for Negroes employed on campus.....	—	1
52. Collecting books for Negro high school.....	—	1
53. Bringing interracial conference to campus.....	2	—
54. Bringing Negro group to campus.....	1	—

INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS OF STUDENT YWCA'S

<p>"ACCOMPLISHMENTS" (Continued)</p>	<p>NUMBER REPORTING THE YWCA INTERRACIAL PROGRAM AS:</p>	
	<p>"Entirely" Responsible</p>	<p>"Largely" Responsible</p>
<p>C. Program activities and procedures incorrectly reported as "accomplishments": (cont'd)</p>		
55. Inviting Negro YWCA secretary to visit campus.....	1	—
56. Helping with recreation at Negro high school.....	1	—
57. Cooperation with Negro colleges in city.....	—	2
58. Cooperation with YWCA branch in city.....	—	1
59. Panel discussion of two races in meetings.....	—	1
60. Cabinet discussions on race....	1	—
61. Presenting views of minority students.....	—	1
62. Acquainting students with Negro children.....	1	1
63. Visiting Negro university near by.....	1	—
64. Speakers Bureau.....	1	—
65. Weekend work camps.....	1	—
66. Folk dance, sing.....	1	—
67. Festivals.....	1	—
Total.....	25	19

tive efforts for which the YWCA is "largely" responsible.

The accomplishments listed in Group B are so vague and indefinite that one is tempted to question their authenticity—or at least to wonder what evidence there is to substantiate the results reported. The YWCA interracial program undoubtedly does contribute toward "fellowship" and "improved attitudes" and "better understanding" and "aroused interest". Reports of such outcomes would be far more convincing, however, if

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they described *changed behavior patterns* which reflect such alleged growth in attitudes and understanding. Moreover, there is danger that Associations which appraise the outcomes of their interracial programs in terms of vague generalities alone may find it easy to accept the illusion of achievement even when nothing important is really being accomplished.

There is a special sense in which some of the procedural or activity items listed in Group C may be thought of as "accomplishments", especially when reported by student YWCA's in the South. For many such Associations it is, indeed, an "accomplishment" merely to be able to participate in such program activities as meeting with Negro students, or holding an interracial conference on the campus. For the most part, however, the nearly three dozen items classified in Group C must be interpreted as evidence that the Associations reporting them do not see clearly the difference between the *activities* engaged in as a part of the interracial program and the *results* accomplished through such activities. This is an important distinction which, when clearly understood, contributes much toward the purposefulness of the program activities themselves.

It may be well, at this point, to emphasize the relationship between interracial program outcomes, or "accomplishments", on the one hand, and interracial program "objectives" and "activities", on the other.

Program "objectives" are desired goals, which are best expressed in terms of *changes* in interracial behavior or in objective social conditions facing minority groups, and which one seeks to bring about through purposeful efforts directed toward that end. For example, to make it possible for Negro students to take part in college athletics, or to convince a majority of the YWCA membership that minority groups are fully their intel-

lectual equals, or to see to it that a small group of Nisei students are made to feel welcome and "at home" on the campus—these are definite "objectives", desired goals to be achieved by means of the interracial program. They are conceived and formulated in the light of the social philosophy, and hence of the general aims or purposes, which give rise to the interracial program.

Program "activities" are the things one does for the purpose of achieving preconceived objectives. For example, getting students to sign a petition urging the admission of Negroes into college athletics; or studying and discussing the findings of modern science on the question of alleged racial differences in intelligence; or entertaining Nisei and other students at tea—these are definite program "activities", undertaken as means to the ends defined by program objectives. Thus, the objectives of the interracial program constitute the starting point for the formulation of program activities.

Program "accomplishments" are the outcomes which result from the program activities. For example, the admission of Negroes partially or fully into college athletics; or the agreement of college officials to begin using Negro athletes at some given date in the future; or the realization on the part of a minority (or majority) of the YWCA members that there really are no "superior" and "inferior" races as regards intellectual ability; or the development of a few limited (or many) friendships between Nisei and other students—these are definite program "accomplishments", the results achieved by means of the program activities.

In an ideal situation, program objectives and accomplishments would coincide exactly. Seldom, however, does this occur. The big concern of those directing the interracial program should be to focus and conduct their activities in such a manner as to make outcomes

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(i.e., accomplishments) approximate objectives as nearly as possible. Especially important is it that clear distinctions be made between the *activities undertaken* and the *results* of these activities. Otherwise, the program activities may seem to become ends in themselves, and thereby void of any clear-cut telic function. Under such circumstances, the actual accomplishments of the interracial program are likely to be far less substantial than otherwise would be true; and even those limited outcomes are likely to go unnoticed, for attention is focused on means alone.

It will be noted that approximately one-half of the "accomplishments" tabulated in Groups A, B and C above are said to result "entirely" from the YWCA interracial program, and that that program is said to be "largely" responsible for the others. It appears, therefore, that the 56 Associations here represented wisely undertake their interracial programs to a considerable extent in cooperation with other groups.

A more careful analysis of frequencies for the three groups of "accomplishments" reveals that the YWCA interracial program is said to be "entirely" responsible for 36 per cent of the definite, objective results reported (Group A), for 45 per cent of the vague general results reported (Group B), and for 57 per cent of the program activities mistakenly reported as "accomplishments" (Group C). Thus it seems that there is a *tendency* toward the achievement of more definite, objective and clearly perceived results when the YWCA interracial program is developed in cooperation with other groups.

This analysis and appraisal of interracial program accomplishments is sharply critical, as regards both the scope and the quality of program outcomes reported. Although such criticism seems to be fully warranted, it must not obscure the evident fact that some Associa-

tions are, indeed, bringing about definite progressive changes in interracial behavior patterns and conditions on their campuses and in their communities—and, further, that they see clearly what is, and what is not, being accomplished. The goal of the National Student Council and of regional and local leaders must be to stimulate and guide a far larger number of student Associations toward the development of interracial programs which warrant similar characterization.

VI

EXPERIENCES AND JUDGMENTS OF ALUMNAE

DO STUDENTS ACTIVE IN THE CAMPUS YWCA MAINTAIN their interest and activity in interracial work after they have graduated from college? What is the nature and extent of their postgraduate interracial experiences? How do these alumnae now evaluate the interracial programs of their former student Associations? What suggestions do they offer for improvement?

These are the questions which this chapter seeks to answer. The postgraduate interests, experiences and judgments of former student YWCA members provide an extremely important basis for evaluating and improving the interracial programs of campus Associations.

» *FORMER YWCA ACTIVITIES OF ALUMNAE*

As was noted in Chapter I, follow-up questionnaires were filled out and returned by 93 alumnae who had been reported to this inquiry as formerly very active in either the "interracial program" or the "general program" of their respective campus YWCA's.

It should be pointed out that the total number of alumnae involved in this analysis represents too small a sample for fully reliable statistical analysis. Even so, especially if this limitation is kept in mind, the experiences and judgments of these formerly active YWCA members provide a fruitful basis for the further evalua-

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tion and redirection of campus Association interracial programs.

Table 23 shows that these alumnae came from Asso-

» TABLE 23 «

Number and Percentage of Alumnae Replying to Follow-Up Inquiry, by Regions and by YWCA Reports on Former Activity in "General Program" or "Interracial Program"

REGION	REPORTED BY YWCA AS FORMERLY ACTIVE IN:		
	General Program	Interracial Program	Total
Northeast.....	9	4	13
Middle West.....	21	12	33
West.....	16	7	23
South.....	11	13	24
Total.....	57	36	93
Per Cent.....	61	39	100

ciations in all four geographical regions, and that only 39 per cent of them were reported by their former YWCA's as having been "most active" in the interracial work of the Association. In their own opinions, however, fully 60 per cent of these 93 alumnae were especially active in the interracial programs of their former Associations. In answering the question: "Were you especially active in the *interracial program* of your campus YWCA before graduation?" 57 alumnae replied "Yes", and 36 replied "No".

Of the 57 alumnae who said they were "especially active in the interracial program" of their former campus Associations:

23 (40%) were so reported by their former YWCA's;
34 (60%) were reported as having been active in

the general YWCA program "but NOT *very* active in the interracial program".

To state this same relationship in a different way:

23 (64%) of the 36 alumnae reported by their former Associations as "most active" in the YWCA interracial program confirm these reports; whereas
34 (60%) of the 57 alumnae reported by their former Associations as "not very active" in the YWCA interracial program say that they were, indeed, "especially active" in that program.

The data of this inquiry afford no explanation of these differences in judgment concerning the extent to which the 93 participating alumnae were active in the YWCA interracial programs of their former Associations. It is significant for this study, however, that all these former campus YWCA members are reported as having been active in either the general or the interracial program, and that 60 per cent of them consider themselves as having been especially active in campus YWCA interracial work. In interpreting the postgraduate interracial experiences and judgments of these 93 alumnae, therefore, it must be borne in mind that they constitute a select, not an "average", group of former student Association members.

» POSTGRADUATE INTERRACIAL INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES

Participating alumnae were asked to indicate whether they "now have *more interest* or *less interest* in interracial problems than . . . in college"; and also whether they have "become *more active* or *less active* in interracial work" since graduation. Their responses to these questions are summarized in Table 24.

It is notable that 50 per cent of these alumnae report

» TABLE 24 «

*Number and Percentage of Alumnae Reporting "Less",
"Some" or "More" Present Interest and Activity in
Interracial Work, by Campus YWCA Activity
Classifications*

RELATIVE DEGREE OF PRESENT INTEREST OR ACTIVITY IN INTERRACIAL WORK	REPORTED BY CAMPUS YWCA'S AS FORMERLY:		TOTAL	
	Active in General Program	Active in Interracial Program	Number	Per Cent
<i>Present "Interest":</i>				
Less.....	1 (2%)	0	1	1
Same.....	25 (45%)	20 (56%)	45	49
More.....	30 (53%)	16 (44%)	46	50
Total.....	56 (100%)	36 (100%)	92*	100
<i>Present "Activity":</i>				
Less.....	23 (42%)	18 (47%)	41	44
Same.....	20 (36%)	7 (19%)	27	29
More.....	12 (22%)	13 (34%)	25	27
Total.....	55 (100%)	38 (100%)	93	100

* One of the 93 alumnae participating in this inquiry failed to report on the relative degree of her present "interests" in interracial work.

that they now have "more interest" in interracial problems than when in college, and 49 per cent report the "same" interest. Only one of the 92 former student Association members reporting on this item says that she now has "less" interest.

On the other hand, 44 per cent of these alumnae are now "less active" in interracial work than when in college. Some 29 per cent report the "same" degree of activity; and 29 per cent say they are now "more active".

Those alumnae classified as formerly most active in the "general program" of the YWCA report relatively greater present *interest* in interracial problems than do those formerly most active in the Association's "interracial program". Fifty-three per cent of the former, as compared with 44 per cent of the latter, say they now are more interested in interracial problems than when in college.

When it comes to changes in degree of *activity* in interracial work, however, this relationship is reversed. Thirty-four per cent of those alumnae formerly active in the YWCA interracial program, as compared with 22 per cent of those formerly active in the general program, report that they now have become more active in interracial work than when in college. There may be reflected in this fact the carry-over influence of active participation in the student Association interracial program. On the other hand, considering the small number of cases, the percentage differences here noted may largely be due to chance.

An additional factor which calls for caution in interpreting these apparent "changes" in interracial interests and activities is the fact that there is no index of the original degree of interest or activity which characterized these alumnae during their campus YWCA days. Those who now report "more" interest or activity may have had very little in college; and those who now report the "same" interest or activity may have been even more advanced in this regard during college than those reporting "more" interest and activity are at the present time.

There is a pronounced tendency, although not completely consistent, for the more recent graduates to evince greater present interest and activity in interracial work than do the earlier graduates. As may be seen

from Table 25, proportionately more of those alumnae who graduated during 1936-40 and 1941-45 report greater *interest* and *activity* in interracial work than is the case with 1931-35 graduates. Although the numbers involved in these three groups of alumnae are small, the differences among them are fairly marked, and probably significant of real differences in postgraduate interests and activity in interracial work.

It will be noted that 67 per cent of the 1936-40 graduates report more present *interest* in interracial problems than when in college, and that 36 per cent report more present *activity* in interracial work. These percentages are much greater than the corresponding percentages for alumnae who graduated between 1931 and 1935 or between 1941 and 1945. If these are real differences, and not merely statistical accidents, they pose an interesting question: *Why do former student YWCA members who graduated during the last half of the 1930's evince more present interracial interests and activity than do those who graduated during the preceding and the succeeding five-year periods?*

A possible answer to this question is found in the history of the National Student Council's emphasis on the interracial program.

In 1934, a joint YMCA-YWCA interracial commission was formed to promote the program of interracial education.

In 1935, the executive committees of the two movements, in joint session, called attention to "nation-wide evidences of discrimination" in most areas of our national life, and called for "united effort toward furthering the establishment of a Student Christian Movement and a social order which provides every individual, regardless of race, opportunity to participate and share alike in all the relationships of life".

» TABLE 25 «

*Number and Percentage of Alumnae Reporting "Less",
"Some" or "More" Present Interest and Activity
in Interracial Work, by Periods of Graduation*

RELATIVE DEGREE OF PRESENT INTEREST OR ACTIVITY IN INTERACIAL WORK	PERIOD OF GRADUATION			TOTAL
	1931-35	1936-40	1941-45	
<i>Present "Interest":</i>				
Less	0	0	1 (2%)	1
Same	8 (62%)	11 (33%)	26 (55%)	45
More	5 (38%)	22 (67%)	20 (43%)	47
Total	13 (100%)	33 (100%)	47 (100%)	93
<i>Present "Activity":</i>				
Less	5 (41.5%)	13 (40%)	23 (48%)	41
Same	5 (41.5%)	8 (24%)	14 (29%)	27
More	2 (17.0%)	12 (36%)	11 (23%)	25
Total	12 (100%)	33 (100%)	48 (100%)	93

In 1936, this joint statement of policy was reaffirmed. Although the YMCA then found it necessary to withdraw its participation in the joint commission, its work "was again carried on with the YWCA constituency alone".

During 1936-37, the National Student Council of the YWCA undertook "to review the process of interracial education . . . since its organization in 1922". Incident to that review, an extensive survey was made of the student population, interracial interests, contacts, program activities and related matters of 220 Associations, representing 39 per cent of the total number of Associations.

In October 1937, the results of this two-year review were compiled and distributed to all Associations in the

form of a six-page, typewritten bulletin, bearing the title: "Historical Summary of Interracial Education and Race Relations in the National Student Council." Its "Conclusions" called for several measures designed to strengthen the interracial program.

Thus, the mid-1930's witnessed a marked intensification of the National Student Council's efforts to develop vital programs of interracial work. It may be that the greater *present* interracial interest and activity of student YWCA members who graduated during the last half of the 1930's reflect the carry-over influence of this period of increasing *special emphasis* on the YWCA interracial program from the high point of the late 1930's.

If these interpretations are valid, they point up a principle which must ever be borne in mind; namely, that the National Student Council can never rest on its achievements in the field of interracial work, however notable they may be at some particular time. The interracial program is not something which can be developed to a fair degree of effectiveness, and then "held" at about that level through "normal" continuing emphasis. The inevitable result of any such approach is retrogression. Only through *constant, aggressive effort to improve* the interracial program can even an already fair degree of effectiveness be maintained.

» THE NATURE OF POSTGRADUATE INTERRACIAL EXPERIENCES

Sixty-nine (74 per cent) of the 93 alumnae participating in this inquiry report that they are, or have been, "actively associated since college" with organizations "which include Negroes, Jews or Japanese-Americans as members". No such associations are reported by 24 (26 per cent) of the alumnae replying.

EXPERIENCES AND JUDGMENTS OF ALUMNAE

As may be seen from Table 26, postgraduate organizational associations with Negroes and Jews are consider-

» TABLE 26 «

Number of Organizations in Which 69 Alumnae Have Been Actively Associated Since Graduation with Negroes, Jews and Japanese-Americans

MINORITY GROUP	NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS
Negroes.	127
Jews.	126
Japanese-Americans.	80

ably more prevalent than are such associations with Japanese-Americans. Indeed, 37 per cent more of the interracial organizations with which these alumnae have been associated include Negroes and Jews as members than include Japanese-Americans as members—not surprising in view of population ratios.

Thirty-seven (40 per cent) of the 93 alumnae replying say they have been engaged in a wide range of postgraduate “organizational, civic or other activities . . . which were *designed definitely to combat prejudice and discrimination against* Negroes, Jews or Japanese-Americans”. Fifty-six (60 per cent) of the alumnae report no such activities.

The types of definitely antidiscrimination organizational and other activities reported by these 37 alumnae are listed, according to frequencies, below:

Reported by 5 alumnae each:

1. YWCA.
2. Interracial Action Councils

Reported by 3 alumnae each:

3. American Friends Service Committee

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Reported by 2 alumnae each:

4. Girl Scouts
5. Creative writing about race relations
6. Girl Reserves [now known as Y-Teens]
7. Bahai movement
8. Fellowship of Reconciliation
9. United Service Organizations
10. Japanese American Relocation Program

Reported by 1 alumna each:

11. National Girls Friendly Society
12. Student Organization (in School of Applied Social Science)
13. Hill District Community Council
14. Bureau of Intercultural Education
15. CIO Teachers Union
16. Communist Party
17. Fellowship Commission
18. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
19. Special school assemblies
20. Interracial consumer cooperative
21. Working for housing for Negroes
22. Working to remove real estate bars against Jews
23. Committee to improve the community's Negro schools
24. Personally boycotted "my favorite swimming pool" when it posted a restrictive sign
25. Summer Service Project
26. Working as secretary to University Dean of Chapel
27. CIO Chemical Workers Union
28. Teaching in University's interracial nursery school
29. Working to "remove "restrictive covenants"
30. Writing to department stores urging them to employ Negro clerks
31. Boycotting restaurants which discriminate
32. Entertaining Japanese-Americans and other nationalities in social groups
33. Youth Council
34. Women's International League
35. Declaration for Independence (organized by Theodore Dreiser and Will Durant)

36. Working in interracial church
37. Teaching my children to respect all races
38. Using book reviews in American Association of University Women to combat prejudice

The most notable thing about this tabulation is the diversity of postgraduate organizational and other anti-discrimination activities it reveals. No one type of activity is reported by more than five of the 37 alumnae involved.

There appear to be significant minority group differences in the types of "personal or other contacts" which the alumnae participating in this study have had with Negroes, Jews and Japanese-Americans since graduation. *Some* such contacts are reported:

With Negroes by 83 (89 per cent) of the alumnae,
 With Jews by 76 (82 per cent) of the alumnae, and
 With Japanese-Americans by 51 (55 per cent) of the alumnae.

The types of postgraduate contacts reported with these several minority groups vary widely. Those mentioned *most frequently* are listed in Table 27.

Thus, the postgraduate contacts of these alumnae have been *chiefly* as follows:

- A. *With Negroes*: as employers in the home, teachers, YWCA associates, or other organizational and professional associates.
- B. *With Jews*: as personal and social friends, professional and business associates, and fellow students.
- C. *With Japanese-Americans*: as personal friends, fellow students, YWCA or other organizational associates.

Reflected in the above summary of alumnae minority-group contacts there seem to be the usual gradations of "social distance" found in American life; and the

» TABLE 27 «

*Types of Postgraduate Interracial Contacts Reported
by 37 Alumnae, by Minority Groups Involved*

MAIN TYPES OF MINORITY GROUP CONTACTS	FREQUENCIES, BY GROUPS		
	Negroes	Jews	Jap.-Amer.
Personal friendship	5	16	14
Professional relations	11	18	4
Employer-employee relations (in homes of alumnae)	18	—	1
Organization membership	14	6	6
Business relations	4	13	2
Fellow student	6	13	11
YWCA	15	3	8
Teacher-pupil relations	13	8	4
Social relations	7	19	3
Church member	7	—	2
Living in neighborhood	2	8	3

contacts which alumnae have with Negroes tend more toward the "lower" end of the scale than in the case of Jews and Japanese-Americans.

» THE CARRY-OVER INFLUENCE OF CAMPUS YWCA PROGRAM

Direct evidence of the carry-over influence of the student YWCA interracial program is found in the replies of alumnae to the question: "In what ways (if at all) did your campus Association experiences contribute toward your present interest and activities in interracial work?" Eighty (86 per cent) of the 93 alumnae answered the question. Typical responses are grouped below, with frequencies noted for each group:

A. *Began or strengthened interracial interests*
(18 alumnae):

"Began my interest. First big experience in interracial work."

"Through the work of the campus Association I became interested in interracial work."

"Here began my first contacts and interest in interracial program—committees, camping and social events."

"Strengthened my interest. I have always been interested."

"It accounts almost entirely for my interest and for any overcoming of prejudice I have accomplished."

"Impetus for interest and insight into problems of minority groups."

"Campus activity intensified my interest, which I already had."

"Just gave me the interest and contributed motive to help."

"Awakened my interest, but not to point of action in opposition to segregation. College Summer Service Group, 1937, gave first personal interracial friendship."

B. *Provided personal contacts with minority groups, often for the first time* (16 alumnae):

"Contact with other races and their problems."

"It was my first contact with Negroes and was so completely natural and on such an equal footing that I've never had any 'psychological blocks'."

"Varied activities provided personal experiences in which Negroes were people."

"Provided a forum where all races were welcome as members and where one could learn to know each other. It helped us to have the right feeling for one another."

"Came from a prejudiced family. The Y gave me opportunity to meet Negroes and hear good speakers (Negro) and to set my thinking straight. Also met Japanese-Americans."

"Campus experience with Negroes and Japanese-Americans particularly destroyed prejudices built up by family at home—eventually even won over my parents."

C. *Provided knowledge, understanding and keener awareness of interracial problems (15 alumnae):*

"I have always been interested. Campus experiences taught me more of the problems of minority groups."

"Increased my awareness and understanding of position the minority groups find themselves in in our society."

"YWCA study groups have stimulated my interest and understanding of interracial problems."

"Information—personal contacts."

"Better understanding."

"Became acquainted with importance of interracial work and received background of information for sympathetic understanding of these people."

"Helped me understand what prejudice is. Made personal relationships with people of other races."

"Provided factual material on discriminations, so that I have tried to combat them wherever found."

D. *Developed tolerance, weakened prejudice (8 alumnae):*

"Just as it contributed to general tolerance."

"Tolerance as an ideal."

"During my college associations I learned to think of all people as human beings with their individual problems—personal, social, etc."

"Made me aware of the great need for tolerance and prevented any prejudice, in my own mind."

"Confirmed my belief in the worth and value of members of other races, both as individuals, fine members of society and personal friends."

"I am a great deal more tolerant in my attitude."

E. *Other types of responses:*

Provided some methods of work in dealing with interracial problems (6 alumnae).

EXPERIENCES AND JUDGMENTS OF ALUMNAE

Provided interracial conference experiences (4 alumnae).
Provided discussion groups on interracial problems (4 alumnae).

Provided sound philosophical basis for work in race relations (1 alumna).

Little or no contribution (4 alumnae).

"Don't know"; "Not certain" (2 alumnae).

Irrelevant responses (2 alumnae).

These reports by alumnae leave no room for doubt that campus Association programs are, indeed, making important contributions to the interracial interests, attitudes and understanding of students; and, further, that their influence in these respects carry over and affect the behavior of former YWCA members in the years following graduation.

» *LIMITATIONS OF CAMPUS YWCA PROGRAM*

The alumnae participating in this inquiry were asked: "In the light of your postgraduate experiences, what do you consider the main *limitations* of your campus Association's interracial program?" The replies of 85 formerly active student YWCA members to this question afford an important basis for the appraisal and revision of campus Association interracial programs. Typical responses are grouped below, with frequencies for each group:

A. *Too theoretical, not enough action* (21 alumnae):

"Too much theory, not enough practical application."

"It has probably changed a great deal in ten years; but I would say we had too much theory, too little practice of what we preached."

"Most programs are based on mere theoretical discussions, and there is little actual opportunity to see interracial problems in operation."

"Students are often quite liberal and somewhat idealistic. My associations were too much from discussion groups and theory. When one gets out into the work-a-day world, he finds adults are not so generous and not all are ready to accept ideas of eliminating prejudice and discrimination."

"Our interracial program was almost entirely theoretical."

"A great deal of talking was done, and no action was ever taken."

"Limited to talk on a philosophical basis, not practical as housing, health, economic life, education, etc."

"Too few activities to change discriminatory policies and conditions on campus."

"No aggressive program against the very apparent defects in local community and campus social pattern."

B. *Involved too few students on campus (18 alumnae):*

"It was too limited. The Y organizations were alone in their *real* efforts to bring about understanding through actual experience; anything else was mere *tolerance*."

"That you meet only a chosen few, in my case the pick of the group. You cultivate common interests and do not try to understand basic differences in cultures."

"It doesn't affect enough people. Also is limited by 'near-sighted' board members who themselves are prejudiced."

"It did not reach enough of the membership to have any far-reaching effect, nor did it influence the conditions on the campus to any great extent."

"Too many of the Y members are never touched by the interracial program (since the *choice* of activity is usually theirs). Not enough current information was gotten so that the girls might see and deal with real problems."

"Not comprehensive enough. One of too many interest groups in the YWCA and the University itself."

"It did not do enough to solicit the interest and understanding of those not already racially tolerant."

"The friendliness toward these groups seemed too limited to a minority of whites. More white students should have

had the opportunity of getting to know the Negroes and foreign students."

"Touches only the people who want to be touched. Forums never held on our campus."

"What they did was good but so little of it; reached too small a group of students."

C. *Too limited contact with minority students (18 alumnae):*

"Too few participants of minority groups."

"Small numbers of other races present—one Negro, two Japanese-Americans and only a few Jews. Everything was theory."

"Not enough inclusion of other races so that they were an integral part of the Y program. I think the program was well done from an academic standpoint."

"Few Negroes, Jews on campus. No Japanese-Americans."

"Too few Negroes in school, and too few of these participated in our program."

"Not enough contact with nonacademic Negroes."

D. *Not geared to meet after-college needs (9 alumnae):*

"More information should be furnished concerning opportunities outside of college after graduation for aiding and sponsoring civic and other activities, not only local but nation-wide."

"Did not provide the problems I would face in a community of taxpaying adults—or even in a community YWCA!"

E. *No real interracial program at all (6 alumnae):*

"As I recall it we did not have an interracial program at college."

"I never felt there was a program as such."

"Actually it was not a program at all, although it may be at this time."

"Not stressed."

"Lack of knowledge on the campus of an interracial program setup and lack of activity along those lines."

"Too little emphasis on race problem. The organization was largely *social* in nature."

F. *Good program, no limitations (3 alumnae):*

"I still think it was a fine program."

"YMCA-YWCA have done and are doing a splendid job in field of interracial relations."

G. *Inadequate adult guidance and leadership (3 alumnae):*

"There should have been more *if* wise adult guidance went with it."

"Our leader should have been more dynamic."

"Prejudice among sponsors of some campus activities."

H. *Lack of knowledge on how to develop interracial program (2 alumnae):*

"Lack of tactics and techniques."

I. *Lack of administration support (2 alumnae):*

"The Administration definitely was not openly behind us and positively giving us help, as Administrations have helped on many church-related campuses. Although a few goals were attained, it was only as a result of much struggle and effort."

"At the time, Administration of college formed main limitation, a very serious one."

J. *Irrelevant responses (2 alumnae):*

K. *Lack of follow-up contacts with graduates (1 alumna):*

"The failure to keep in contact or offer any definite program for graduates."

In the opinion of these alumnae, the *main* limitations of their former student YWCA interracial programs are: (1) that they were too theoretical, with not enough action; (2) that they involved or affected too few students on the campus; and (3) that they provided too few direct contacts with minority students. The pro-

gram analyses set forth in Chapter IV of this study suggest that these particular limitations still characterize the interracial programs of most student Associations.

» SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING CAMPUS YWCA INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS

Seventy-five of the alumnae participating in this inquiry responded to the question: "What suggestions do you make for *improving* the effectiveness of the Association interracial program at your former college?" Their suggestions, which in large measure reflect their criticisms noted above, are grouped with typical illustrations below.

A. *Develop more programs of action on concrete problems (14 alumnae):*

"Suggest it maintain its stand of active doing, rather than stressing an interracial program *per se*."

"More direct intervention in administrative policies of the college. Such as championship of Negro counselors in freshman dormitories. We won the fight, and other areas could be discovered."

"Action."

"Development of action program against segregation pattern."

"Political activity on campus to involve all of student body in campaigns around concrete and specific issues of today; e.g., the recent race riots at Columbia, Tennessee, and the whole wave of lynchings in the South and elsewhere. Campaigns directed at such Senators as Bilbo. Campaigns against the poll tax. Support for the current test case of Negro law student wishing to enter University."

B. *Involve more minority students in the membership and program of the YWCA (11 alumnae):*

"Make a special effort to interest and draw and place in responsible positions members of minority groups."

INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS OF STUDENT YWCA'S

"Try to get active Negro and Japanese-American members of the Association and on the Interracial Committee."

"Including Negro girls in the membership. How can it be a true Y if Negroes are excluded?"

C. *Irrelevant or vague responses; or no definite suggestion (14 alumnae):*

D. *Have more discussion and study groups, including scientific study (7 alumnae):*

"A special mixed race group for discussion of interracial problems or any subjects of common concern."

"Encouragement to get at background and etiology of some of the most outstanding prejudices; it would help individuals in becoming aware of trends toward serious social problems which center around race prejudice—the Palestine question, e.g., or the new wave of publicity which the Ku Klux Klan is currently receiving."

E. *Hold more interracial conferences and exchange programs (7 alumnae):*

"More interracial conferences. Lectures by prominent Jews and Negroes."

F. *Broaden scope of program to reach more people (5 alumnae):*

"Greater attempt to reach more people."

"More provisions should be made for everyone in college to enjoy interracial fellowship rather than only those in YM and YW who volunteer for it."

G. *Plan programs more carefully, better techniques, clear-cut aims (3 alumnae):*

"Tactics and techniques should be presented more fully."

H. *More interracial activities of a social nature (3 alumnae):*

"More frequent interracial dinners, hikes, entertainment."

I. *Assure a leadership with sound interracial understanding and wholesome attitudes (2 alumnae):*

"I feel strongly on the subject. Board members should be chosen for their broad-mindedness on this subject and Board should definitely be representative. This has never been done before."

J. *Get more minority students on the campus (2 alumnae):*

"More and more possibility for more effective interracial program. Jewish minority never set apart as such. Japanese-Americans now on campus. Next step is for a few well-chosen and exceptional Negro girls to attend school, some as dormitory and others as day students. By having outstanding Negro girls, students would have first chance to know Negro girls as people like themselves."

"It would be fine if a Japanese-American girl could attend
——— College."

K. *Give more attention to developing interracial work (2 alumnae):*

"I don't believe the problem, as such, was ever directly and openly discussed, at least not in my presence, so I suggest we have a definite date or time set for a discussion of the problem."

L. *More activities in the community (2 alumnae):*

"More panel discussions outside the college environment, led by representatives of the campus."

M. *More emphasis on spiritual basis of interracial brotherhood (1 alumna):*

"More emphasis on spiritual treatment that mankind is one."

N. *Elimination of prejudices within the Association (1 alumna):*

"Some members of the Association itself will have to really accept the Negro girl as just another girl like herself—with nothing different but a darker complexion."

O. *Study what other Associations are doing (1 alumna):*

"Make contact with other Associations to learn of successful programs and activities with other races."

Thus, two main suggestions stand out among the proposals of these alumnae for improving student YWCA interracial programs: (1) the undertaking of more direct *action on concrete problems* of minority group discrimination, and (2) the involvement of a much *broadier section of the student body*, especially minority students. In these and most other proposals, their judgments accord precisely with the investigator's evaluations of current programs reported in the preceding two chapters of this study.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

THE CONTROLLING PURPOSE OF THIS INQUIRY IS TO *evaluate* the interracial programs of campus YWCA's and to suggest practical steps for enhancing their effectiveness. The investigation is limited to problems and programs relating to three minority groups—Jews, Japanese-Americans and Negroes.

The primary data of the study include:

- A. The composite judgments of competent observers on the relative importance of selected "criteria for judging an effective interracial program".
- B. The responses of 163 student Associations (27 per cent of the total) to a seven-page inquiry form seeking information about minority group problems on their campuses and in neighboring communities, together with extensive information concerning the nature and scope of their interracial programs during 1945; also meager or "no problem" responses from 59 additional Associations.
- C. The responses of 93 former Association members (31 per cent of those to whom inquiry forms were sent) to a questionnaire concerning their campus and post-graduate interracial experiences and interests.
- D. Observations and records of the Secretary of Interracial Education, based upon five years of campus visitation.

» *MAIN FINDINGS*

There follows a summary of the main findings which emerge from an analysis of the data.

Minority Group Enrollments and Problems

1. One or more of the minority groups with which this study deals are present on the campuses of most of the institutions here involved—Jews in nearly two-thirds of the schools, and Japanese-Americans and Negroes in about one-half of the schools.

2. All three minority groups are enrolled by institutions in all geographical regions, with one significant exception—there are no Negroes in the southern institutions.

3. The three minority groups are fairly well distributed among private and public schools.

4. Most of these schools are medium-sized or small institutions, enrolling very small numbers of Negro and Japanese-American students, but somewhat larger numbers of Jewish students.

5. Questionnaires and letters from 59 Associations report “no problem” of minority group discrimination or prejudice. Such “no problem” responses were received from one (1 per cent) of the 89 Associations with secretaries, and from 58 (11 per cent) of the 515 Associations without secretaries.

6. Minority students, especially Negroes, are prevented from taking work in a number of professional schools. This is true for 5 out of 15 medical internship schools reported, 4 out of 21 general medical schools, 2 out of 22 engineering schools, 2 out of 3 nursing schools; and also for 10 out of 98 professional schools of other types.

7. There is “no discrimination” against minority stu-

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dents on most campuses as regards living in dormitories, participating in athletics, use of swimming pools, eating in cafeteria, participation in band or orchestra, general school social affairs, sorority and fraternity membership, etc. "Some" discrimination in these respects is reported by a number of Associations and "complete" prohibitions by about as many others.

8. There is "no discrimination" against minority students in most college communities as regards attending movies or churches, using the YWCA or YMCA, eating in restaurants and renting dance halls. "Some" or "complete" discrimination in these respects is reported by many Associations.

9. Discriminations against minority students are most marked in such close personal and social relationships as eating, dating and membership in sororities and fraternities.

10. Discriminations against Negro students are more prevalent and sharper than in the case of Japanese-Americans or Jews. Japanese-American students rank second as regards frequency and intensity of discrimination.

11. Campus discriminations against minority students are tending to wane. Especially is this true in the case of Japanese-American students since World War II; and to a lesser extent it is true in the case of Negro students.

12. There are scattered reports of some weakening of minority group discriminations in college towns, but much less than is true on the campuses.

13. The changing sentiments and organized protests of students are reported as the main factors making for progressive change in interracial relations in many institutions and neighboring communities.

Nature and Extent of Interracial Programs

14. Jewish students hold membership in 41 per cent of the campus Associations involved in this inquiry, Japanese-Americans in 36 per cent, and Negroes in 29 per cent. By comparison, Jewish students are enrolled in 72 per cent of the institutions surveyed, Japanese-Americans in 47 per cent, and Negroes in 49 per cent.

15. Only one-fourth of the Associations list definite goals set for their 1945 interracial programs; one-half report "no definite goals"; and one-fourth make no report whatever.

16. The goals listed by many Associations are clear-cut statements of *changes* to be effected in the conditions and relationships of minority students on the campus and in the community. Many other Associations report vague and general purposes, or procedural activities, suggesting that the concept of "goals" as here used is inadequately understood.

17. Objectives of Association interracial programs are determined most frequently (in 72 per cent of the cases) by the community responsibility commission (racial equality committee) or the YWCA cabinet.

18. Only 72 per cent of the Associations supplying other groups of data report fully or in part on the nature of their 1945 interracial program activities. The other Associations left this, the most important part of the questionnaire, completely blank.

19. A wide range of interracial program activities is reported by participating Associations. Grouped by prevailing types and listed in order of frequency are:

A. Sending delegates to interracial conferences and to local interracial intercollegiate meetings; also working with advisory board, cooperating with other campus and community groups.

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B. Discussing interracial problems in the Racial Equality Committee, in general membership meetings, and in the YWCA cabinet; also making campus and community surveys.

C. Holding public meetings, writing articles for campus and Association publications, circulating pamphlets and library books, holding exhibits, sending delegations to college and public officials, and circulating petitions.

D. Trying to get minority students admitted to the college or to certain functions or facilities from which they are barred, such as honor societies, fraternities and sororities, student union building, athletics, cafeteria, musical organizations and others.

20. All four types of program activities are used to combat prejudices and discriminations against Negroes more than twice as frequently as in the case of the other two minority groups. Program activities seeking to affect the status of Japanese-American students are slightly more frequent than in the case of Jewish students.

21. Fewer than one-half (46 per cent) of the advisory boards participated in planning and developing campus Associations' interracial programs during 1945. Substantial roles were played by only a few of these advisory boards that participated in the programs at all.

Program Successes, Failures and Accomplishments

22. Only 57 (37 per cent) of the 156 Associations supplying other groups of data provide brief descriptions of their "most successful" interracial program activities; and only 25 (16 per cent) report on their "least successful" program activities.

23. Some of the activities reported as "most successful" represent truly vital and significant projects in interracial education.

24. The "chief reasons for success" reported in connection with "most successful" activities include: (a) careful planning; (b) genuine interest on the part of the YWCA sponsoring group; (c) broad participation by Association members and others; (d) cooperation of the advisory board, faculty members, administration and adults in the community; (e) effective YWCA leadership; (f) a "natural" approach to interracial association; and (g) hard work.

25. Fully as vital and significant as those activities reported as "most successful" are many of the activities reported as "least successful". Lack of success with these activities results not from their purpose or nature, but from remediable errors in planning and development.

26. Nearly all the Associations reporting "least successful" activities say they would attempt these activities again, but with revised procedures and approaches. The changes in approach they would make call for (a) more careful planning, (b) special efforts to involve more people, (c) special efforts to obtain allies in the faculty and administration and in other organizations, (d) more effective publicity, and (e) definite action growing out of discussions.

27. Only 56 (36 per cent) of the Associations report on the definite "accomplishments" of their programs toward the improvement of interracial relations during 1945.

28. The "accomplishments" reported include (a) 19 definite and tangible achievements in eliminating objective discriminations against minority groups; (b) 15 vague, indefinite and general achievements, mostly subjective in nature and not amenable to measurement; and (c) 34 program activities which may not properly be classified as "accomplishments".

29. Reports on "accomplishments" indicate that

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many Associations make the serious error of confusing procedures (i.e., program activities) with results (i.e., accomplishments).

30. The YWCA interracial program is said to be "entirely" responsible for approximately one-half of the accomplishments reported, and "largely" responsible for the others.

31. There appears to be a tendency toward the achievement of more definite, objective and clearly perceived results when the YWCA interracial program is developed in cooperation with other groups.

Interracial Interests, Experiences and Program Suggestions of YWCA Alumnae

32. Among 93 former campus YWCA members participating in the study (all graduates of the period 1931 to 1945), 57 are characterized by their former Associations as having been "active in the YWCA general program", and 36 as "active in the YWCA interracial program". Some 40 per cent of the former and 64 per cent of the latter confirm their respective characterizations.

33. Fifty per cent of these alumnae report that they now have "more interest" in interracial work than when in college; 49 per cent have the "same interest"; and only 1 per cent have "less interest".

34. Twenty-seven per cent of these alumnae are now "more active" in interracial work than when in college; 29 per cent are active to "about the same" extent; and 44 per cent are "less active".

35. "More interest" in interracial work than when in college is reported by 53 per cent of the alumnae formerly active in the YWCA general program, as compared with 44 per cent of those formerly active in the interracial program.

36. "More active" participation in interracial work than when in college is reported by 34 per cent of the alumnae formerly active in the YWCA interracial program, as compared with 22 per cent of those formerly active in the general program.

37. The more recent graduates tend to evince greater present interest and activity in interracial work than do the earlier graduates.

38. Some 69 of the alumnae report active association since college in 127 organizations which include Negroes as members, 126 organizations which include Jews as members, and 80 organizations which include Japanese-Americans as members. Twenty-four alumnae report no organizational affiliations which involve association with minority groups.

39. Some 37 alumnae report a wide range of organizational, civic or other activities engaged in since college "which were *designed definitely to combat prejudice and discrimination* against Negroes, Jews or Japanese-Americans". Most frequently listed (with frequencies of five each) are the YWCA and community or other interracial committees. No such activities are reported by 56 (60 per cent) of the alumnae.

40. Eighty-three (89 per cent) of the alumnae report "personal or other contacts . . . since college" with Negroes; 76 (82 per cent) report such contacts with Jews; and 51 (55 per cent) report such contacts with Japanese-Americans.

41. The most frequently mentioned types of contacts alumnae have had with minority groups since graduation (those mentioned more than ten times, listed in order of frequency) are:

A. *With Negroes:* as employers in the home, teachers, YWCA associates or other organizational and professional associates.

B. *With Jews*: as personal and social friends, professional and business associates, and fellow students.

C. *With Japanese-Americans*: as personal friends, fellow students, YWCA or other organizational associates.

42. Eighty of the 93 alumnae list a variety of ways in which their campus Association experiences contributed toward their "present interest and activities in interracial work". Those listed most often (with frequencies of from 15 to 18) are: (a) began or strengthened interracial interests; (b) provided personal contacts with minority groups, often for the first time; and (c) provided knowledge, understanding and keener awareness of interracial problems.

43. Eighty-five of the 93 alumnae list a variety of shortcomings as "the main *limitations* of [their] campus Association interracial programs". The three types of criticisms most often mentioned (with frequencies of from 18 to 21) are that programs (a) are "too theoretical, not enough action"; (b) "involve too few students on the campus", and (c) afford "too limited contact with minority students".

44. Seventy-five of the 93 alumnae offered a variety of suggestions "for *improving* the effectiveness of the Association interracial program at [their] former college". The two types of suggestions made most often (with frequencies of 14 and 11, respectively) call for (a) the development of "more programs of action on concrete problems"; and (b) the involvement of "more minority students in the membership and program of the YWCA".

» EVALUATIVE CRITERIA APPLIED

In the light of the preceding analyses and summary, it is now possible to undertake an over-all evaluation

of campus YWCA interracial programs. The basis for such appraisal was laid at the outset of this inquiry—in the graded set of “evaluative criteria” reported in Chapter II as representing the composite judgment of competent observers as to the most important “tests” of an effective program. (See Table 3.)

To what extent do the interracial programs of the campus Associations participating in this study satisfy the criteria for effective programs? The answer to this general question is organized around the several graded groups of evaluative criteria here applied.

A. MOST IMPORTANT CRITERIA:

1. *Do campus YWCA interracial programs tackle concrete problems leading to definite action on the campus?*

Rarely. The prevailing program emphases are upon attending interracial conferences, discussing the problem and promoting various forms of education on the general subject. Extremely few of the participating Associations report program activities which “tackle concrete problems leading to definite action on the campus”.

2. *Do campus YWCA interracial programs provide for the continuous education of Association members and other persons on the campus?*

Only in a very few cases. Although discussion and other “educational” activities are reported by relatively large numbers of Associations, such activities generally occur only once or twice during the year. Fewer than half a dozen Associations report “constant” use of such activities. Moreover, the general membership is often not involved; and persons outside the Association membership are very rarely involved.

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3. *Do campus YWCA interracial programs get definite results?*

Frequently they do. This is especially true when activities are consciously directed toward effecting definite changes in the interracial pattern of the campus. Much more generally, however, nothing "definite" is sought, with corresponding results.

B. VERY IMPORTANT CRITERIA:

4. *Are campus YWCA interracial programs based upon preliminary analysis of interracial problems?*

Seldom, at least so far as systematic surveys are concerned. Fewer than one-tenth of the Associations report surveys of interracial problems on the campus or in the community.

5. *Are campus YWCA interracial programs organized around clearly defined objectives?*

Very seldom. Only one-fourth of the Associations report formulating interracial program objectives at all; and many of their stated "goals" represent vague or general purposes, or procedures, which are of little guidance in the planning of program activities.

6. *Do campus YWCA interracial programs exert carry-over influence in after-campus years?*

Apparently they do. There seems to be considerable carry-over influence, at least among recent graduates formerly "active" in the campus YWCA general program or interracial program. Practically all such alumnae participating in this study report as much or greater present "interest" in interracial work as during college days; and more than one-half of them are now as "active" or more active in interracial work than when in college. There is evidence that campus Association programs contributed much to this post-graduate interest and activity, although there is no

measure of how much was contributed by other influences.

C. IMPORTANT CRITERIA:

7. *Do campus YWCA interracial programs involve large numbers of Association members and other persons on the campus?*

Only in relatively few Associations. As was noted in connection with the second criterion above, Association interracial programs often do not involve the general membership, and seldom involve any substantial number of other persons on the campus.

8. *Do campus YWCA interracial programs tackle concrete problems leading to definite action in the community?*

Very rarely. Definite action on concrete problems in the community is reported by even fewer Associations than report such activity on concrete problems on the campus.

9. *Do campus YWCA interracial programs impress competent observers as being vital and important?*

Yes, but with serious limitations. The judgments of alumnae, which correspond generally with that of the investigator, recognize the importance of campus YWCA interracial programs; but they also recognize that these programs are in most instances characterized by very serious inadequacies.

» CONCLUSION

There can be no doubt that the interracial programs of campus YWCA's are making an important contribution to the abiding interests and understandings of a limited number of students regarding the special problems faced by Jews, Japanese-Americans and Negroes in our society. In some cases, relatively few in number, Association interracial programs are also effecting definite and pro-

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gressive changes in campus and community patterns of discrimination against minority students. For the most part, however, campus YWCA interracial programs are very seriously limited as regards clarity of goals, vitality of activities and scope of operations. Truly, major and widespread improvements are sorely needed!

RECOMMENDATIONS

THE FINDINGS OF THIS INQUIRY ARE NOT "NEW"; BUT they do point up certain situations which have been known all along to require correction and improvement. They afford a fairly adequate basis for recommendations designed to enhance the effectiveness of campus interracial programs of the student YWCA.

The relevance and applicability of the following recommendations¹ vary, of course, among Associations which operate under widely differing circumstances. Nevertheless, they should afford to all Associations some valuable guides in the planning and conduct of their interracial programs.

A. GENERAL:

1. The entire student YWCA membership, and especially the cabinet and advisory board, should develop through continuing study and discussion a sound theoretical basis for the interracial program. Essential to such a basis are:
 - a. familiarity with a broad range of relevant facts and their meaning; and
 - b. a functional grasp of and deep conviction regarding the Christian principles upon which the program must rest.

¹ These recommendations were adopted in substance by the National Student Council of the YWCA at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, September, 1947.

2. The Association should take whatever steps are necessary to *assure* that the several minority student groups on the campus become represented—in substantial numbers where possible—in the membership and program of the YWCA. Such minority student members should be integrated into the Association leadership and into *all* aspects of its program.
3. All evidences of minority group prejudice or discrimination within the Association should be dealt with constructively in a frank and decisive manner. The Association must become an organization which the whole campus and community recognize as being quite free of any racial prejudices or discriminations.
4. The analyses, findings, conclusions and recommendations of this inquiry should be studied and discussed by all student Associations. Effort should be made to draw therefrom whatever suggestions are deemed practical for strengthening the interracial program.

B. CABINET:

5. The YWCA cabinet should center responsibility for carrying out the interracial program in the appropriate committee of the Association, and should arrange for that committee to have the continual guidance and assistance of the cabinet. This should be done in each Association, regardless of whether its institution enrolls minority students.
6. Where certain minority students (e.g., Negroes in the South) are not included in the enrollment of the institution but do attend neighboring institutions, local intercollegiate councils should be established for joint planning and cooperation in the development of the interracial program.
7. Attention should be given to the possibility of

establishing close cooperative relations between the campus YWCA and the Association (or Associations) in the community in the development of the interracial program.

8. Attention should be given to the possibility of establishing, in the development of the interracial program, close cooperative relations between the campus YWCA and the churches and other organizational allies in the community.
9. Steps should be taken to maintain contact with former Association members to the end of giving them postgraduate stimulation and guidance in continuing activities in the interracial field, and also for the purpose of gaining from them valuable suggestions for the development of an effective interracial program on the campus.

C. RACIAL EQUALITY COMMITTEE:

10. The systematic survey of minority problems, both on the campus and in the neighboring community, should constitute the first step in planning the interracial program. In this connection it should be borne in mind that attitudes toward minority groups afford insight into the problem, even though there may be no minority students on the campus.
11. Definite and attainable goals to be sought through the interracial program should be clearly defined at the outset. Such objectives should:
 - a. serve as a direct guide to the planning of program activities essential for their attainment;
 - b. be heavily weighted with definite changes to be made in the existing conditions and relationships of minority groups;
 - c. include also a broad factual and theoretical understanding of the historical background and prob-

RECOMMENDATIONS

- lems of minority groups, and of their larger economic and political determinants; and
 - d. be formulated in such a way that the extent to which they are attained can be definitely measured.
12. Activities should be planned which are deemed adequate to attain the agreed-upon objectives. Such activities should:
- a. be consistent in scope with the resources of the Association, thus assuring that they can be carried through successfully;
 - b. be directed in large measure toward effecting definite changes in the interracial pattern of the campus and local community;
 - c. be directed to some extent toward helping to effect changes in the interracial pattern of the larger society;
 - d. involve the entire YWCA membership and large sections of the student body as a whole (rather than merely the racial equality committee or the cabinet); and
 - e. give continuing special emphasis toward bringing YWCA members and other students of different social and religious groups into direct personal contact with minority students under wholesome conditions.
13. Consideration should be given to the non-Association leadership and organizational resources of the campus and community which can be utilized in carrying out the interracial program. Steps should be taken to effect alliance with such individuals and organizations, involving them in active cooperative relations in working toward the objectives which the program is designed to attain.
14. Each activity should be carried through to the achievement of its objectives. This should be a con-

scious and persistent aim—in this and in every other aspect of the Association program.

15. Check on results accomplished. There should be periodic reports and evaluations of the interracial program—in the YWCA cabinet and in meetings of the general membership. Both achievements and failures should be noted, and explanations therefor advanced. There should be continual revision of the planned program in the light of experiences as it develops.

D. REGIONAL COUNCIL:

16. The Regional Council should see to it that plans for summer conferences, advisers' meetings and projects include definite measures to assure the attendance of minority students in substantial numbers, and their full integration into the activities and program of these groups.
17. Summer conference programs should provide for the full exchange and evaluation of experiences in the development of campus interracial programs.

E. PROFESSIONAL STAFF:

18. Professional staff members should take special steps to broaden their own knowledge of interracial problems and of techniques for dealing with them effectively. Among other things, they should welcome close friendships with members of minority groups.

F. ADVISORY BOARD:

19. Members of the advisory board should be those whose understanding, attitudes, experiences and abilities equip them for constructive efforts in the development of an effective interracial program.
20. Qualified members of minority groups should be

RECOMMENDATIONS

included in the personnel of the advisory board. Citizens from the community as well as from the campus should be invited to serve in this capacity.

G. PERSONNEL COMMITTEE:

21. Members of minority groups should be appointed to the professional leadership of ever increasing numbers of campus YWCA's. Existing or anticipated vacancies should be analyzed to the end of effecting this personnel policy in the immediate future.

H. NATIONAL STUDENT YWCA:

22. Members of the national staff should equip themselves with a functional knowledge of the history and dynamics of minority group problems in general, and of the special manifestations of these problems in the various regions which they serve.

23. The National Student YWCA should continually make available to all campus Associations materials which describe and interpret effective interracial program activities being carried out at other institutions. The National Headquarters should also consider other ways in which it can give definite, practical help to campus Associations in the development of their interracial programs.

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE STUDENT Y W C A IN THE AREA OF RACIAL EQUALITY

THE EXPERIENCES OF MINORITY GROUPS IN OUR society provide a crucial test of our fundamental Christian beliefs in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. To the extent that the inherent dignity and worth of minority peoples are negated by social customs and institutions, to that extent does our society reject the principles of Christian Brotherhood.

The experiences of minority groups also provide a crucial test of the democratic political organization of our society. To the extent that freedom and equality of opportunity are denied to minority peoples, to that extent are the democratic rights of all other men insecure.

The Young Women's Christian Association is committed by its nature as a Christian Movement and by its statement of policy to the principles of brotherhood and equality of opportunity for all men. The clarity and concreteness of this policy is evident in the following statement on "Racial Equality", adopted by the National Assembly of the Student Christian Association Movement, 1946-47:

"We believe in the dignity and worth of all men because of their common sonship to God. To discriminate against any person because of race, creed or station in life is an affront to God. We believe that the full integration of members of minority groups into community life is a con-

dition of the coming of God's Kingdom on earth. We believe that human life is sacred and that no man is of greater value than any other before God or His government.

"THEREFORE, We are uncompromisingly opposed both to racial discrimination and to separation, and shall work through the means of peaceful nonviolent efforts for a social order which provides every individual, regardless of race, opportunity to participate and share alike in all relationships of life.

"We seek to free ourselves from prejudices and discriminatory practices and shall extend to all individuals the respect due them as children of God.

"We work against all segregation and discrimination in the Student Christian Association Movement and seek to include members of minority groups in all phases of its life.

"We seek to bring all students into campus life and shall work for their participation, without segregation or separation, in all extracurricular activities including fraternities, sororities, honor societies and professional fraternities, and for unrestricted use of all college facilities; we shall work against the quota system of admission of students to colleges and against discrimination in restaurants, barber shops, movies, dormitories, boarding houses, other campus living places, etc., in the campus community.

"We seek fair employment opportunities for members of minority groups, including the opportunity for any job for which the individual is qualified, equal pay for equal work, equal opportunity for promotion and equal security on the job. We support the establishment of a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission, and State Fair Employment Practices Commissions in the various states to cover those industries and unions not covered by the federal law.

"We work for unrestricted housing on the campus and in the community for all people, and oppose separate and segregated housing projects and ethnically restrictive real estate covenants, and state land legislation which denies to members of certain minority groups the right to own real property.

"We work for equal educational opportunities for all people and work for training and appointment of a greater

number of teachers from minority groups, for equal salaries for equally qualified teachers in all schools and the abolition of segregated school systems. We strive to equalize appropriations received by schools in segregated systems. We seek to include in the curriculum of schools courses in culture and history of all minority groups.

"We support equal rights for all persons regardless of race or creed, in all phases of our government, including conventions, primaries and elections. To this end we shall work for the anti-lynching bill and against white primaries, private incorporated groups for controlling elections, force organizations, literacy tests on unequal standards. We urge support for and shall work for the passage of legislation designed to guarantee full citizenship rights to all minority groups.

"We oppose separation and segregation in churches and community YWCA's and YMCA's.

"We support the claims of Americans of Japanese ancestry in returning to their homes and businesses, regaining possession of property, and living in an unmolested manner, with full civil rights. We urge fair hearings for Japanese subject to deportation, with special consideration for family units.

"We seek a liberalized policy on immigration, especially abolition of the oriental exclusion act and the admittance of an equitable share of Europe's displaced persons; we seek to abolish the denial of naturalization rights of individuals because of race, color, religion, creed, sex or national origin.

"We seek to bring about elimination of segregation and discrimination in the armed forces of the United States, equal membership rights in the organized labor movement and participation in all phases of its life for members of all minority groups.

"We urge members of local Associations to demonstrate in every area of their daily living their belief in racial equality."

There are few, if any, more pressing needs in our time than for the full and concrete expression of these

principles for oppressed peoples in America and throughout the world.

Student Associations, which have shared in the formulation of the interracial policy and have worked to carry it out over the years, are called by the findings of this study to take whatever "next steps" are necessary to give maximum expression in their organizations and programs to the principles of interracial equality and brotherhood.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A-1

An Inquiry under the Auspices of the National Student Council, Y.W.C.A.
600 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

PART I

INQUIRY CONCERNING MINORITY STUDENTS IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

1. _____
Name of college _____ City or Town _____ State _____

2. Resident undergraduate student enrollment: 1945-46

Please try to obtain accurate enrollment figures as called for below. If accurate enrollment figures are not available, record your best estimate, writing "Est." after the figures reported.

- (a) Total number of students (all races). _____
(b) Total number of Jewish students _____
(c) Total number of Japanese-American students. _____
(d) Total number of Negro students. _____
(e) Other, please name _____

3. YWCA or SCA membership: 1945-46

- (a) Total YWCA or SCA membership. _____
(b) Total minority group membership Men _____ Women _____
(c) Composition of Minority Groups: Jewish _____ Jap.-Am. _____ Negro _____ Other _____

4. Problems or difficulties faced by minority students enrolled in professional schools of the college.

Do Jewish, Japanese-American, Negro students have difficulty taking work in any of the professional schools listed below? If so, please check the school and state the reason for the difficulty (i.e., administration policy, etc.)

- | <u>Professional School</u> | <u>Reason</u> |
|--------------------------------|---------------|
| (a) School of Law. | _____ |
| (b) School of Engineering. . . | _____ |
| (c) School of Medicine: | |
| 1. Total. | _____ |
| 2. Internship | _____ |
| (d) School of Dentistry. . . . | _____ |
| (e) School of Pharmacy | _____ |
| (f) School of Architecture . . | _____ |
| (g) School of Fine Arts. . . . | _____ |
| (h) School of Journalism . . . | _____ |

List other professional schools below:

- (i) _____ . . . _____
(j) _____ . . . _____
(k) _____ . . . _____

APPENDIX A-1—continued

- 2 -

5. For each minority group listed below place a cross mark (x) in either column I, II, or III, to describe the situation which obtains in each case.

Item	I			II			III		
	No discrimina- tion whatso- ever against	Limited use or participation; Some discrimina- tion or segrega- tion (explain under "comments")	Minority barred completely from use or partici- pation (explain under "comments")	Jews	Jap-Amer.	Negroes	Jews	Jap-Amer.	Negroes
<u>On the campus:</u>									
(a) Living in girls dormitory . .									
(b) Living in boys dormitory. . .									
(c) Participation in athletics. . .									
(d) Use of boys swimming pool . .									
(e) Use of girls swimming pool. . .									
(f) Eating in campus cafeteria. . .									
(g) Participation in band or orchestra									
(h) Participation in chorus or glee club.									
(i) Use of Student Union Building									
(j) Participation in general school social affairs . . .									
List others below:									
(k) _____									
(l) _____									
(m) _____									
<u>In the town:</u>									
(a) Attending movies or theaters									
(b) Attending churches.									
(c) Use of YMCA or YWCA									
(d) Eating in restaurants									
(e) Renting of dance halls.									
List others below:									
(f) _____									
(g) _____									
(h) _____									

APPENDIX A-1—continued

- 3 -

5. (continued)

Please comment on any item listed on the preceding page which is not now a problem but has been in previous years. Give as much information about the change as you can.

Please comment on any item which is still a problem.

6. Please comment on any other matters which may help interpret the position of Negro students at the institution:

7. In what ways do discriminations against Negro students differ from discriminations against Japanese-Americans and Jewish students?

APPENDIX A-1—continued

- 4 -

PART II.

1945 INTERRACIAL PROGRAM IN Y.W.C.A. OR S.C.A.

1. Indicate below what (if any) definite changes your Association set out to make during 1945 in the campus or community conditions and relationships facing Negro, Jewish, Japanese-American or other minority groups.

a. No definite goals were set for changes in this regard (check if true) _____

b. We set out to make the following specific changes in campus interracial conditions and relations (be specific):

(1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

(4) _____

(5) _____

c. What Association group (or groups) determined the year's objectives in interracial work? _____

2. Indicate below the types and frequencies of interracial program activities actually carried out during 1945:

Interracial Program Activities	Minority group or groups affected	Check one of these				Number of different times used during year (specify)
		Not used at all	Tried without success	Carried out successfully		
a. YWCA or SCA Interracial Committee discussions . .						
b. Making a survey of interracial problems on campus. . . .						
c. Making a survey of interracial problems in community . .						
d. YWCA or SCA cabinet discussions						
e. Membership meetings on:						
(1) General intern problems						
(2) Specific campus discriminations.						
(3) Specific discriminations in the community. . . .						
(4) F.E.P.C. legislation. .						
(5) Anti-poll tax legislation						
Others - specify:						
(6) _____						
(7) _____						
(8) _____						
(9) _____						
f. Holding public meetings on interracial problems. . . .						
g. Sending committees or delegations to college officials						
h. Sending committees or delegations to public officials. .						

APPENDIX A-1—continued

- 5 -

2. (continued)

Interracial Program Activities	Minority group or groups affected	Check one of these			Number of dir- ferent times used during year (specify)
		Not used at all	Tried without success	Carried out successfully	
i. Circulating petitions. . . .					
j. Sponsoring exhibits on campus					
k. Getting books on interracial subjects in the library. .					
l. Circulating pamphlets or other literature in the library.					
m. Articles and editorials in Association publications.					
n. Association sponsored arti- cles and editorials in campus newspaper.					
o. Sending delegates to student conferences open to mem- bers of all minority groups					
p. Participating in local in- terracial intercollegiate meetings. (Indicate number of meetings)					
q. Working for the admission of minority group students into;					
(1) honorary societies					
(2) fraternities or sororities .					
(3) dormitories.					
(4) swimming pools					
(5) college athletics.					
(6) campus cafeteria					
(7) band or orchestra.					
(8) chorus or glee club. . . .					
(9) student union building . .					
Others - specify:					
(10) _____					
(11) _____					
(12) _____					
(13) _____					
r. Working for the admission of minority group students into the college.					
s. Working with the Advisory Board on interracial prob.					
t. Cooperating with other groups on campus					
u. Cooperating with other groups in the community.					

3. Indicate below what definite accomplishments on campus or in community towards improving interracial relations during 1945 resulted entirely or in large measure from the program of the campus Association:

Accomplishments	Due entirely to Association program (check)	Due largely to Association program (check)
a. _____	_____	_____
b. _____	_____	_____
c. _____	_____	_____
d. _____	_____	_____
e. _____	_____	_____

APPENDIX A-1—continued

- 6 -

4. Describe briefly below the most successful interracial program activity carried out by your Association during 1945.

- a. Purpose
- b. What was done
- c. Results
- d. Why considered "most successful"?
- e. Chief reasons for success

5. Describe briefly below the least successful interracial program activity carried out by your Association during 1945.

- a. Purpose
- b. What was done
- c. Results
- d. Why considered "least successful"?
- e. Would you attempt this again? If so, how would you change your procedure?

6. Describe briefly what role the Advisory Board played.

7. Append illustrative materials describing program activities carried out during 1945 (such as: copies of reports, published articles, leaflets, petitions, pictures, specially prepared statements describing more fully the program activities indicated above).

Report submitted by _____

Address _____

Position _____

(President, Secretary, Chairman of
Interracial Committee, etc.)

Please list members of the Committee; indicate minority group representatives, local secretaries and/or adviser.

Date _____ Please return immediately to Mrs. Yolanda B. Wilkerson, National Student Council, YWCA, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

APPENDIX A-2

National Student Council of the National Board of the Young Womens Christian Associations of the United States of America

Chairman
MADELINE PATTERSON
Western Reserve University

February 1, 1946

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
Telephone: PLAZA 5-4700

Vice-Chairmen
MARY ANN MATTOON
University of Nebraska
DOROTHY PENDLETON
Troy, New York

Chairman of Resident Committee
MRS. CHARLES T. DOUDS
Englewood, N. J.

Headquarters Staff
ELEANOR FRENCH
Executive

MURIEL W. JACOBSON
Associate in Administration

LOUISE E. FLEMING
Personal Secretary

FERN BARCOCK
Program Coordinator

YOLANDA B. WILKINSON
Interracial Education

Dear President of the YWCA or SCA:

Your Association is among 600 YWCA's and SCA's whom we invite to participate in a study of racial and cultural minorities sponsored by the National Student Council of the YWCA. The study, made possible through a grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund, is a part of a larger one which was started by the general movement of the YWCA in 1942 and which is continuing this year.

The purpose of the National Student Council's study will be to survey and evaluate the varied activities through which the student YWCA interracial and intercultural program is conducted on college and university campuses and to appraise their carry-over effectiveness in promoting community leadership in this field following college graduation. Such a study will lay a sound factual basis for increasing the effectiveness of the student YWCA's interracial and intercultural program during the years immediately ahead.

Attached is the first of two questionnaires which will be sent to your Association. As you will note, the questionnaire is not applicable equally to all Associations and colleges. The laws in certain southern states make impossible the attendance of Negroes and whites in the same colleges. In such cases you are asked to answer those questions which do apply to your particular situation. In order to collect, analyze and interpret data from the questionnaires it is necessary that they be filled out as quickly as possible and returned to the national office on or before March 8, 1946. Those replies returned before March 2 will be very useful at convention, March 2-8.

May we suggest that your Association delegate this responsibility to a small committee set up for this purpose and that the report be reviewed by the cabinet before it is returned to us? You will want to choose very carefully the committee from among those who are most interested and best able to give the answers to the questions. You will, therefore, want to include your local secretary and/or adviser and representatives of minority groups on the campus. We realize that the committee may not have available all the answers to some of the questions. This will mean time will need to be allowed to find the necessary facts. The significance of the questionnaire will depend upon the accuracy of the answers.

If you have questions concerning any part of the questionnaire, please feel free to write, asking for clarification.

We urgently request your cooperation and shall very much appreciate the work which you do in helping to gather this data. As you so well realize, the study will be valuable in proportion to the number of replies received. The study will be an invaluable guide to the National Student Council as it looks to the future in offering the best possible suggestions for Association interracial and intercultural programs.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor French
Eleanor French
Executive Secretary

Ella Foulkes Douds
Mrs. Charles T. Douds
Chairman of Resident Committee

GL
Enc.

APPENDIX A-3

National Student Council of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations of the United States of America

Chairman
MADELINE PATTERSON
Western Reserve University

Vice-Chairmen
MARY ANN MATTOON
University of Nebraska
DOROTHY PENDLETON
Troy, New York

Chairman of Resident Committees
MRS. CHARLES T. DOUGS
Englewood, N. J.

Headquarters Staff
ELEANOR FRENCH
Executive
MURIEL W. JACOBSON
Associate in Administration
LOUISE E. FLEMING
Personnel Secretary
FERN BARCOCK
Program Coordinator
YOLANDA B. WILKERSON
Interracial Education

500 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
Telephone: PLaza 5-4700

February 1, 1946

Dear Executive Director and Adviser:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which is being sent to student YWCA and SCA presidents throughout the country, inviting them to participate in a study of interracial and intercultural minorities.

In addition to the information sent to Association presidents, you will be interested to know that the study is being directed by Mrs. Yolanda Barnett Wilkerson who has served for four years as secretary for Interracial Education on the staff of the National Student Council. Mrs. Wilkerson is assisted by a Special Committee on Interracial Study and Education, made up of volunteers and staff and persons trained in social research. This work is part of a larger study being conducted in the YWCA with the help of a grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

We realize that student Associations will look to the local professional staff or adviser for counsel in setting up the processes essential for an adequate response to the questionnaire. May we take this opportunity to express to you the committee's sincere appreciation for your assistance in making possible a significant study. It is our hope that the process of answering the questionnaire will prove not to be a burden but rather a valuable and creative experience for those participating in it.

Cordially,

Eleanor French

Eleanor French
Executive Secretary

EF:m

Affiliated with the United Student Christian Council in the U.S.A.
and the World's Student Christian Federation

APPENDIX A-4

National Board
of the
Young Womens Christian Associations
of the United States of America
600 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Building and Field Correspondence

Feb. 4, 1946

Dear Regional Staff:

You will remember that this year the Julius Rosenwald Fund made available to the National Board, Y.W.C.A. a sum of money from which was allotted an amount for the National Student Council to conduct an inquiry into the effectiveness of campus programs of interracial and intercultural education.

We are now ready to begin the study and have sent out the first of two questionnaires. Enclosed are copies of the questionnaire, the letter to the Association president and to the local secretary or adviser.

As is stated in the letter to the Association presidents, the study will be valuable in proportion to the number of replies received. Your help in promoting it is urgently needed and will be of inestimable value in stirring up interest and in increasing the number of returns.

If you have any suggestions as to how we may further promote this study such as sending letters to your regional council chairman or to the regional chairman of the Committee on Social Responsibility, please send them to us and we will act accordingly.

Thank you for your cooperation in working to make this a significant study which will be able to guide the National Student Council as it looks to the future in offering the best possible suggestions for Association interracial and intercultural programs.

Sincerely,

Yolanda B. Wilkerson

APPENDIX A-5

(Text of follow-up postal card)

March 14, 1946

Dear President of the YWCA or SCA:

Most Associations have filled out and returned the questionnaires which the National Student Council, YWCA, sent to them on February 1st. For this we thank them.

Many other Associations have not returned their questionnaires. We urge them to do so during the next few days. We cannot much longer delay our tabulations, and it is important that all Associations be represented in the study. If, by any chance, your questionnaire has been misplaced, please let us know immediately and another one will be sent by return mail.

Sincerely yours,

Yolanda B. Wilkerson,
National Student Council, YWCA

APPENDIX B-1

Form No. 2

An Inquiry Under the Auspices of the National Student Council, Y.W.C.A.
600 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

FORMER ASSOCIATION MEMBERS IN RELATION TO YWCA OR SCA INTERRACIAL PROGRAM

1. _____
Name of College City or Town State
2. Among the members of the Association who graduated during each period indicated name several who were most active in the YWCA interracial program. List their names and present addresses below - three for each group, if possible.
 - (1) 1931-1935 Graduates 1936-1940 Graduates 1941-1945 Graduates
Name
Present Address
City and State
White, Negro, other?
 - (2)
Name
Present Address
City and State
White, Negro, other?
 - (3)
Name
Present Address
City and State
White, Negro, other?
3. Among the members of the Association who graduated during each period indicated name several who were very active in the Association general program but NOT very active in the interracial program. List their names and present addresses below - three from each group, if possible.
 - (1) 1931-1935 Graduates 1936-1940 Graduates 1941-1945 Graduates
Name
Present Address
City and State
White, Negro, other?
 - (2)
Name
Present Address
City and State
White, Negro, other?
 - (3)
Name
Present Address
City and State
White, Negro, other?

Report submitted by _____
Address _____
Position _____
(President, Secretary, Chairman of Inter-racial Committee, etc.)

Date _____

PLEASE MAIL IMMEDIATELY to Mrs. Yolanda E. Wilkerson, National Student Council, YWCA, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

April 5, 1946

APPENDIX B-2

National Student Council of the National Board of the Young Womens Christian Associations of the United States of America

Chairman
MADELINE PATTERSON
Western Reserve University

Vice-Chairmen
MARY ANN MATTOON
University of Nebraska
DOROTHY PENDLETON
Troy, New York

Chairman of Resident Committee
MRS. CHARLES T. DOUGS
Englewood, N. J.

Headquarters Staff
ELEANOR FRENCH
Executive
MURIEL W. JACOBSON
Associate in Administration
LOUISE E. FLEMING
Personal Secretary
FERN BARCOCK
Program Coordinator
YOLANDA B. WILKERSON
Interracial Education

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
Telephone: PLaza 3-4700

April 5, 1946

Dear President of the YWCA or SCA:

Here enclosed is the second and final questionnaire in the National Student Council's inquiry concerning campus Association interracial programs. It calls merely for the names and present addresses of certain Association members who graduated during the periods, 1931-1935, 1936-1940 or 1941-1945.

Please check with faculty persons or others in position to know, the names of former active members who were, or were not, very active in Association interracial work. Then supply their present addresses, and return the questionnaire at the earliest possible moment.

We have received a very good response to the first questionnaire sent out on campus interracial programs. If your Association's reply is in, thank you for your cooperation. If it is not, please send it immediately.

Sincerely yours,

Yolanda B. Wilkerson

(Mrs.) Yolanda B. Wilkerson
Secretary for Interracial Education

YBW:I
encl.

Affiliated with the United Student Christian Council in the U.S.A.
and the World's Student Christian Federation

APPENDIX B-3

Form No. 3

An Inquiry Under the Auspices of the National Student Council, Y.C.A.
600 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

QUESTIONNAIRE RE: POST-GRADUATE INTERRACIAL EXPERIENCES OF FORMER
CAMPUS ASSOCIATION MEMBERS

A. General Information

1. Name _____
Last name First name Middle name
2. College _____ Address _____
3. Date of graduation _____ 19 _____
Month Year
4. Degree _____
5. Major subject _____ 6. Minor subject _____
7. In preparation for what occupation did you choose your college course? _____
8. Indicate below any school work you have done since graduation:
School attended Time attended Work taken

9. Are you married? _____ 10. If so, have you any children? _____ Number? _____
11. a. Indicate below the main occupation you have engaged in since leaving college.

b. Are you now engaged in the above occupation? _____ If not, what? _____
12. Were you especially active in the interracial program of your campus Y C A before graduation? Yes _____ No _____
13. Do you now have more interest or less interest in interracial problems than you had in college? (check one)
More interest _____
Less interest _____
About the same _____
14. Have you become more active or less active in interracial work than when you were in college? (check one)
More active _____
Less active _____
About the same _____

APPENDIX B-3—continued

-2-

15. List below organizations with which you are, or have been, actively associated since college and which include Negroes, Jews or Japanese-Americans as members. (Check to indicate minority group membership in each organization listed.)

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Included In Membership</u>		
	<u>Negroes</u>	<u>Jews</u>	<u>Jap.-Amer.</u>
(a) _____	_____	_____	_____
(b) _____	_____	_____	_____
(c) _____	_____	_____	_____
(d) _____	_____	_____	_____
(e) _____	_____	_____	_____
(f) _____	_____	_____	_____
(g) _____	_____	_____	_____
(h) _____	_____	_____	_____
(i) _____	_____	_____	_____
(j) _____	_____	_____	_____

16. What (if any) organizational, civic or other activities have you engaged in since college which were designed definitely to combat prejudice and discrimination against Negroes, Jews or Japanese-Americans? (List each activity, indicating its nature and purpose, and noting the calendar year in which it developed)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Nature and Purpose of Activity</u>
(a) _____	_____
(b) _____	_____
(c) _____	_____
(d) _____	_____
(e) _____	_____
(f) _____	_____
(g) _____	_____

(Continue on back of page if necessary)

17. What kinds of personal or other contacts have you had since college with Negroes, Jews, or Japanese-Americans? (Indicate briefly below)

(a) Types of contacts with Negroes:

- (1) _____
- (2) _____
- (3) _____
- (4) _____
- (5) _____

(b) Types of contacts with Jews:

- (1) _____
- (2) _____
- (3) _____
- (4) _____
- (5) _____

APPENDIX B-3—continued

- 3 -

(c) Types of contacts with Japanese-Americans:

- (1) _____
- (2) _____
- (3) _____
- (4) _____
- (5) _____

(Continue on back if necessary)

18. In what ways (if at all) did your campus Association experiences contribute toward your present interest and activities in interracial work. (explain)

19. In light of your post-graduate experiences, what do you consider the main limitations of your campus Association's interracial program?

20. What suggestions do you make for improving the effectiveness of the Association interracial program at your former college?

21. Please comment briefly on any of the above questions which you think needs further explanation.

Report submitted by _____
Address _____

Date _____

PLEASE MAIL IMMEDIATELY TO Mrs. Yolanda B. Wilkerson, National Student Council, YWCA, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

SThq
7/8/46

APPENDIX B-4

(On National Student Council letterhead)

October 24, 1946

TO: FORMER STUDENT YVCA MEMBERS

Dear Friends:

Please help us in our efforts to evaluate Student YVCA interracial programs by taking five or ten minutes to fill out and return the enclosed questionnaire.

We are writing to you because your name has been given to us as one who was either active in the YVCA interracial program while you were a student or active in the general Association program at that time. Your judgment and postcollege experience will be helpful to us.

This request is made incident to a study being conducted of campus interracial programs under the auspices of the National Student Council and financed by the Julius Rosenwald Foundation.

Nothing in our published report will reveal your identity.

We have very little time for the completion of this study and trust that you will let us have your response by return mail or certainly before November 1. An addressed return envelope is enclosed.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Yolanda B. Wilkerson
Secretary for Interracial Education

APPENDIX C-1

CRITERIA PROPOSED FOR EVALUATING CAMPUS INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS

An effective campus interracial program is one which:

1. Is based upon a preliminary analysis of interracial problems on the campus and in the community.
2. Is organized around clearly defined definite objectives.
3. Has a continuous program of education for Association and the campus.
4. Tackles concrete problems which lead to definite action on the campus.
5. Tackles concrete problems which lead to definite action in the community.
6. Involves a large number of Association members as well as campus.
7. Gets results.
8. Impresses competent and impartial observers as being vital and making important contribution to life of the community.
9. Has carry-over influence in the after-campus years.

SIGNED _____

Note: Please comment as directed on attached letter and return immediately to Mrs. Yolanda B. Wilkerson, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

APPENDIX C-2

(On National Student Council letterhead)

October 24, 1946

To: The Committee on Interracial Education

Dear

I need your collective judgment in validating a tentative list of criteria by means of which I propose to evaluate the interracial program of campus YWCA's as reported in the study we are now conducting

I hope you will help me by doing the following things promptly:

1. Examine critically the enclosed set of criteria.
2. Make whatever revisions you consider necessary in the statement of each criterion. (Make your comments immediately under the criterion to which they pertain.)
3. Add criteria you consider essential for effective evaluations.
4. Give a rough indication of the relative importance of the various criteria (including any you may add) by putting one of the following symbols to the left of each criterion:

V.I. - meaning "very important"

I. - meaning "important"

N.I. - meaning "not important"

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Yolanda B. Wilkerson
Secretary for Interracial Education

APPENDIX D

List of Institutions Participating in This Inquiry, by YWCA Administrative Regions

ASILOMAR

1. Chaffey Junior College, Ontario, Calif.
2. College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.
3. Fullerton Junior College, Fullerton, Calif.
4. Long Beach City College, Long Beach, Calif.
5. Occidental College, Los Angeles, Calif.
6. Pasadena Junior College, Pasadena, Calif.
7. Pomona College, Claremont, Calif.
8. Pomona Junior College, Pomona, Calif.
9. Riverside Junior College, Riverside, Calif.
10. Sacramento Junior College, Sacramento, Calif.
11. Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif.
12. University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
13. University of California, Los Angeles, Calif.
14. University of Nevada, Reno, Nevada.

GENEVA

15. Carthage College, Carthage, Ill.
16. Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Ill.
17. MacMurray College, Jacksonville, Ill.
18. McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill.
19. Monmouth College, Monmouth, Ill.
20. National College of Education, Evanston, Ill.
21. North Central College, Naperville, Ill.
22. Northern Illinois State Teachers College, De Kalb, Ill.
23. University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
24. University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill.
25. Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Ind.
26. De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind.
27. Evansville College, Evansville, Ind.
28. Hanover College, Hanover, Ind.
29. Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
30. Oakland City College, Oakland City, Ind.
31. Central College, Pella, Iowa
32. Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa
33. Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa

INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS OF STUDENT YWCA'S

34. Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa
35. Iowa State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, Iowa
36. Mason City Junior College, Mason City, Iowa
37. Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa
38. Parsons College, Fairfield, Iowa
39. Simpson College, Indianola, Iowa
40. State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa
41. Hope College, Holland, Mich.
42. Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich.
43. Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich.
44. Western Michigan College, Kalamazoo, Mich.
45. Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.
46. Mankato State Teachers College, Mankato, Minn.
47. Moorhead State Teachers College, Moorhead, Minn.
48. St. Cloud State Teachers College, St. Cloud, Minn.
49. University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
50. Jamestown College, Jamestown, N. D.
51. Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio
52. College of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio
53. Denison University, Granville, Ohio
54. Heidelberg College, Tiffin, Ohio
55. Kent State University, Kent, Ohio
56. Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio
57. Miami University, Oxford, Ohio
58. Muskingum College, New Concord, Ohio
59. Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio
60. Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
61. Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio
62. University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
63. Western College, Oxford, Ohio
64. Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio
65. Dakota Wesleyan University, Mitchell, S. D.
66. Northern State Teachers College, Aberdeen, S. D.
67. Southern Normal University, Springfield, S. D.
68. Yankton College, Yankton, S. D.
69. Carroll College, Waukesha, Wis.
70. Stout Institute, Menomonie, Wis.

MIDDLE ATLANTIC

71. American University, Washington, D. C.
72. Hood College, Frederick, Md.

APPENDIX

73. Morgan College, Baltimore, Md.
74. Washington University, Chestertown, Md.
75. New Jersey College for Women, New Brunswick, N. J.
76. Cedar Crest College, Allentown, Pa.
77. Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pa.
78. Moravian College for Women, Bethlehem, Pa.
79. Pennsylvania College for Women, Pittsburgh, Pa.
80. Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa.
81. State Teachers College, Cheyney, Pa.
82. State Teachers College, Kutztown, Pa.
83. State Teachers College, Millersville, Pa.
84. University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
85. Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa.
86. Women's Medical College, Philadelphia, Pa.
87. Alderson-Broadbent College, Philippi, W. Va.
88. Bethany College, Bethany, W. Va.
89. West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va.

NEW ENGLAND

90. Connecticut College for Women, New London, Conn.
91. Nason College, Springvale, Maine
92. University of Maine, Orono, Maine
93. State Teachers College, Gorham, Maine
94. Boston University, Boston, Mass.
95. Sargent School (Boston University), Cambridge, Mass.
96. Wheaton College, Norton, Mass.
97. Green Mountain Junior College, Poultney, Vt.

NEW YORK STATE

98. Alfred University, Alfred, N. Y.
99. Queens College, Flushing, N. Y.
100. State Teachers College, Fredonia, N. Y.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST (SEABECK)

101. College of Idaho, Caldwell, Idaho
102. Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Ore.
103. University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.
104. Willamette University, Salem, Ore.
105. State College of Washington, Pullman, Wash.

ROCKY MOUNTAIN

106. Western State College, Gunnison, Colo.
107. College of Emporia, Emporia, Kan.

INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS OF STUDENT YWCA'S

108. Fort Scott Junior College, Fort Scott, Kan.
109. Friends University, Wichita, Kan.
110. Hutchinson Junior College, Hutchinson, Kan.
111. Independence Junior College, Independence, Kan.
112. Kansas City Junior College, Kansas City, Kan.
113. Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kan.
114. Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg, Kan.
115. McPherson College, McPherson, Kan.
116. Southwestern College, Winfield, Kan.
117. University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
118. Hastings College, Hastings, Neb.
119. Nebraska Wesleyan University, Lincoln, Neb.
120. State Teachers College, Wayne, Neb.
121. University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.

SOUTHERN (SOUTHEAST)

122. Alabama College, Montevallo, Ala.
123. State Teachers College, Jacksonville, Ala.
124. Talladega College, Talladega, Ala.
125. University of Alabama, University, Ala.
126. Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Ga.
127. Brenau College, Gainesville, Ga.
128. Paine College, Augusta, Ga.
129. Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College, Richmond, Ky.
130. University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.
131. Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.
132. Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Miss.
133. Duke University, Durham, N. C.
134. Guilford College, Guilford College, N. C.
135. Pfeiffer Junior College, Misenheimer, N. C.
136. Salem College, Winston-Salem, N. C.
137. Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.
138. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
139. Converse College, Spartanburg, S. C.
140. Le Moyne College, Memphis, Tenn.
141. Maryville College, Maryville, Tenn.
142. Tusculum College, Greeneville, Tenn.
143. University of Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tenn.
144. Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

APPENDIX

145. Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia, Fredericksburg, Va.
146. Radford College, Radford, Va.
147. Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va.
148. Roanoke College, Salem, Va.
149. Southern Seminary, Buena Vista, Va.
150. Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va.
151. Virginia Intermont College, Bristol, Va.

SOUTHWEST

152. Arkansas A & M College, Magnolia, Ark.
153. Central College, Fayette, Mo.
154. Cottey College, Nevada, Mo.
155. Northwest Missouri State Teachers College, Maryville, Mo.
156. Park College, Parkville, Mo.
157. Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
158. Oklahoma A & M College, Stillwater, Okla.
159. Phillips University, Enid, Okla.
160. University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.
161. Sam Houston State Teachers College, Huntsville, Tex.
162. Texas Wesleyan College, Fort Worth, Tex.
163. University of Texas, Austin, Tex.

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